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Bernard Mandeville: A Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Diseases (1730)



Springer

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BERNARD MANDEVILLE: A TREATISE
OF THE HYPOCHONDRIACK
AND HYSTERICK DISEASES (1730)

Sylvie Kleiman-Lafon

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Sylvie Kleiman-Lafon
University of Paris VIII
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Note on the Text

Bernard Mandeville's only medical work was first published in 1711 as *A Treatise on the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Passions*. It was printed twice that year: the first issue was printed "for and to be had of the Author, at his House in *Manchester-Court*, in *Channel-Row*, *Westminster*," and also printed for Dryden Leach and William Taylor, while the second issue was printed by Dryden Leach and sold by himself and William Taylor with no mention of the author and his address.ⁱ Mandeville may have been overwhelmed by the flow of visitors, but he probably removed any mention of his private residence to avoid being accused of wanting to increase his practice by this overt publicity. The first edition was reissued in 1715, printed by Dryden Leach for Charles Rivington, with no alterations.

Fifteen years later, in 1730, Mandeville published a second edition of his book "corrected and enlarged by the author," with a slightly different title: *A Treatise on the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Diseases*. Although Mandeville does not explain why he found the word "disease" more appropriate than "passion", he may have wanted to convince his potential readers that they were about to read a medical treatise and not the work of a moralist. He may also have wished to avoid a too obvious connection between the *Treatise* and the highly polemical *Fables of the Bees*. This edition was printed for Jacob Tonson, the publisher of Dryden, Samuel Butler and Joseph Addison, and reprinted later during that same year with only marginal alteration to the text itself.ⁱⁱ This last 1730 reprint, also called the "third edition", is the edition of reference for the present edition. The original spelling and punctuation have been retained and only obvious misprints have been corrected. The original capitalisation has also been reproduced throughout.

In the present edition, the substantial additions made to the original work in 1730 are indicated between square brackets. Whenever portions of the original text were taken out, they are also shown between square brackets and a footnote indicates the nature of the change.

In order to preserve the general legibility of the text, minor interventions such as slight vocabulary changes, the inversion of two words or a change in the syntax of a sentence have not been indicated. Whenever these small changes were more obviously made for reasons that were not purely stylistic, or when the change of words

alters the meaning of a sentence, the original words are given between inverted commas, in the endnotes. In order to limit the number of notes, any information regarding the authors or scientists explicitly cited by Mandeville is given in alphabetical order at the end of the book.

Among the changes made by Mandeville in 1730 is the addition of a rough translation for nearly all the Latin quotations used in the 1711 edition. These translations were given as footnotes, and labelled with letters appearing between brackets before the sentences—(a), (b) or (c)—, starting again on every new page. In the absence of any specific attribution, the great majority of these translations (sometimes merely explanations) must be attributed to Mandeville himself. In a few instances, however, Thomas Creech (1659–1700), a famous translator of the classics, is credited as the translator. The system of letters used by Mandeville has been kept throughout as well as his original footnotes. Mandeville's translations, commentaries or explanations are here given in their original italics. Mandeville considered it superfluous to provide his knowledgeable readers with any further information regarding the sources of his quotations. The author's name is occasionally mentioned, but the work itself is never identified. All the textual references given in the footnotes, below Mandeville's own interventions, and in between square brackets, are therefore my own addition. The third dialogue contains numerous examples of prescriptions in apothecary's Latin abbreviations. They were used by Misomedon at various stages of his diseases and are given as remaining traces of his past credulousness. Mandeville did not provide his readers with an intelligible translation because they also represent the abstruse jargon forced upon impressionable patients. A translation is however given in the endnotes.

More general notes on the text appear as endnotes and are numbered continuously throughout the text. The original table of contents provided in the third edition has also been reproduced in the present edition. It offers the reader a detailed thematic map of the *Treatise*. A short bibliography is given at the end of the introduction but additional bibliographical references on specific topics can also be found in the endnotes.

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I am particularly grateful to my late father, André Lafon, for having introduced me to Mandeville's work and having insisted upon the literary value of the *Treatise*. He sadly passed away years before the publication of this book.

Sylvie Kleiman-Lafon

Introduction

Sylvie Kleiman-Lafon

A Fragmentary Biography

Bernard Mandeville was born in Dordrecht, in the Netherlands, and baptised in Rotterdam on 20 November 1670. He matriculated at the University of Leiden in 1685 with the intention of studying medicine, being himself from a family of eminent physicians. As F.B. Kaye has pointed out, Mandeville registered as a student of philosophy and, in 1689, presented a dissertation entitled *Disputatio Philosophica de Brutorum Operationibus* (Leiden, Abraham Elzevier, 1689). He disappeared from the University registries for the academic year 1690–1691, only to come back in March 1691 to be made Doctor of Medicine after the presentation of his doctoral thesis, entitled *Disputatio Medica Inauguralis de Chylosi Vitiata*. Soon after this, Bernard Mandeville became involved in the Costerman riots, along with his father, Michael.ⁱⁱⁱ The latter was banished from Rotterdam and moved to Amsterdam, where he practised medicine until his death; Bernard Mandeville left the country and, after apparently travelling through continental Europe, finally settled in London at an uncertain date. In the preface to the second part of *The Fable of the Bees*, published in 1729, Mandeville gives the reader indirect clues about his early life through the short biographical details he gives about Cleomenes, the character who acts as his fictional double in the dialogues:

As he had formerly, for his amusement only, been dipping into anatomy, and several parts of natural philosophy; so, since he has come home from his travels, he had study'd human nature, and the knowledge himself, with great application.^{iv}

S. Kleiman-Lafon (✉)
University of Paris VIII, Saint-Denis, France
e-mail: sylvie.kleiman-lafon@univ-paris8.fr

Rudolf Dekker gives 1698 as the probable date of Mandeville's arrival in England, but according to George Clark, his name appeared as early as 17 November 1693 on a list of eight men summoned by the Royal College of Physicians for the unlicensed practice of medicine.^v Mandeville was apparently allowed to practise even though no elements suggest that he was given a license. According to George Clark, his was a rather privileged situation compared to that of another Dutchman, member of the Colleges of Physicians of Amsterdam and Leiden, who was ordered to quit the medical profession or to leave the country.

Mandeville wrote in the preface to the first edition of the *Treatise* that he first settled in England to "learn the Language" and finally decided to stay. He married Ruth Elizabeth Laurence in 1699 and later had two children with her: Michael and Penelope. Little else is known of Mandeville's life until his death in Hackney in 1733, apart from the disparaging and even slanderous comments of his enemies on his personality, his work and his lifestyle. Rare surviving letters and scarce allusions also show that Mandeville had friends as well as enemies: Lord Macclesfield, fellow of the Royal Society and Lord Chancellor, was one of his friends, and his protection probably explains the fact that Mandeville was able to practise medicine openly, with or without a licence. An additional proof of his professional success as a physician is a letter from Mandeville to Hans Sloane, President of the Royal College of physicians, Secretary and later President of the Royal Society, and long-time editor of the *Philosophical Transactions*. In this long letter, Mandeville informs Sloane of the ongoing treatment of one of his patients, Mr Duberick. In his autobiography, Benjamin Franklin recalls his meeting with Sloane but also with Mandeville, whom he presents in positive terms, insisting on the philosopher's sense of humour, a quality which, according to F.B. Kaye, had also attracted Lord Macclesfield:

My Pamphlet by some means falling into the Hands of one Lyons, a Surgeon, Author of a Book entitled *The Infallibility of Human Judgment*, it occasioned an Acquaintance between us; he took great Notice of me, call'd on me often to converse on these Subjects, carried me to the Horns, a pale Ale-House in—Lane, Cheapside, and introduc'd me to Dr. Mandeville, author of the Fable of the Bees, who had a Club there, of which he was the soul, being a most facetious, entertaining Companion.^{vi}

The rest of Mandeville's existence, as far as the modern readers are concerned, is limited to his works. As F.B. Kaye points out: "History now becomes paradoxical. Her file, which has not spared details of Mandeville's youthful days of obscurity, records almost nothing of the years when he was one of the most celebrated men in the world."^{vii}

The Form and Contents of the *Treatise*

When the first version of the *Treatise* appeared, Bernard Mandeville had already published a poem in Latin included in the second edition of his fellow Dutchman Joannes Groenevelt's treatise on the internal use of cantharides,^{viii} and a translation of La Fontaine: *Some Fables after the Easie and Familiar Method of Monsieur de La Fontaine*, which had undergone two editions within a year.^{ix} He had also

published a loose translation of the first canto of Paul Scarron's *Typhon, ou la Gigantomachie*, as well as *The Grumbling Hive*—a long fable in verse which was reissued in 1714 with a set of philosophical remarks as *The Fable of the Bees*—and *The Virgin Unmask'd*, a dialogue upon love and marriage between an old woman and her niece.^x

With the *Treatise*, Mandeville returned to medical literature, which he had somewhat neglected since his university years at Leiden. Indeed, apart from this larger work, his only forays into medical writing had hitherto been limited to his production as a student. He wrote his inaugural thesis in 1685 (*Bernardi à Mandeville de Medicina Oratio Scholastica*), followed by another philosophical dissertation on animal functions in 1689 (*Disputatio Philosophica de Brutorum Operationibus*). Finally, in 1691, he defended his medical thesis on the subject of digestion, (*Disputatio Medica Inauguralis de Chylosi Vitiata*) and substantial portions of this last text were later incorporated in the *Treatise*. Despite the probable success of the *Treatise* (prompting a reprint four years later), Mandeville concentrated on more political and philosophical subjects until the revised edition of 1730. A long period of nineteen years separates the first and the last editions of his medical work. The second and so-called third editions of the *Treatise* were published less than a year after the publication of the second part of *The Fable of the Bees*, which consists of six dialogues. This chronological proximity explains the numerous textual similarities between the two works, including the choice of the dialogue form for the second part of the *Fable*.

The *Treatise* consists of three dialogues between Philopirio, a physician who specialised in the treatment of hypochondria and hysteria, Misomedon, his hypochondriac patient, and Polytheca, the latter's hysteric wife. Each of the three dialogues is interspersed with passages of varying lengths taken from medical books or from the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Academy and supposedly read aloud by either Philopirio or Misomedon. They also contain Latin quotations in the form of proverbs or more substantial excerpts from classic texts. A large part of the dialogues is devoted to Misomedon's and Polytheca's case histories and to a discussion of the probable cause of both distempers: a dysfunctioning digestion as diagnosed by Mandeville. The text provides an occasion for him to add large passages from his doctoral dissertation on chylication to his demonstration. The dialogues are also an opportunity for Mandeville to examine ancient and modern approaches to medicine with a sceptical eye and to reconcile theory and practice, following the principles detailed by Giorgio Baglivi or Thomas Sydenham, Mandeville's main sources of inspiration.

The whole *Treatise* is meant as an imaginary case study that would gather most of the symptoms of the disease in one patient. Mandeville insists in his preface upon the deliberately artificial nature of Misomedon's case, invented in order to give the fullest account of this complex ailment to the readers:

The Instances I give are so crowded with Symptoms, that I never expect to find one Person, whose Case exactly shall resemble any of the Three; and as I have only set down the Signs, that are Obvious and Common in the Distempers I treat of, so it is possible, that some *Hysterick* as well as *Hypochondriacal* Persons may be troubled with some peculiar Symptom or other, that is not to be found in the Book; but whoever has read it through, and

in some part or other of it not met with three or four Symptoms applicable to himself, may depend upon it, that his Affliction does not come under the denomination of either.

Apart from this concession to verisimilitude, the whole *Treatise* is filled with details that are devised to turn the dialogues into lively scenes. Carefully chosen props such as a portrait painted by Van Dyck, hung in the parlour, numerous books taken from the shelves of Misomedon's library, to be opened at specific pages and read aloud, the invisible presence of servants and other elements taken from the daily life of Misomedon's household, endow the dialogues with a sense of intimacy that confirms the congeniality of the relation between the physician and his patient.^{xi} Food, when offered and shared, like the dinner of venison pasty and French claret to which Misomedon requests the company of Philopirio, is also the sign of the trustful relationship necessary to a fruitful conversation and to the healing process.^{xii}

Mandeville used the dialogue form in other philosophical works—in the *Fable of the Bees* and in *The Virgin unmask'd*. Although he concedes in his preface to the second part of the *Fable* that it can be a questionable way of exposing one's ideas, it remains the surest way to convince, or at least to win the readers' favours, adding that the "greatest objection" to using dialogues is "the Difficulty there is in writing them well":

To discuss Opinions, and manage Controversies, it is counted the most unfair Manner of Writing. [...] That this is to be said against Dialogues is certainly true; but it is as true, that there is no other manner of writing, by which greater reputation has been obtain'd.^{xiii}

As a dialogue writer, Mandeville carefully follows the advice given by Plato "that things might look as if they were acted, rather than told".^{xiv} In the *Treatise* the props, the interruptions and digressions, and the dramatic entrance and exit of Polytheca turn the three dialogues into a play acted for the benefit of the readers. The names of the three characters offer a rapid description of their main personal traits. As Mandeville explains in the preface to the *Treatise*, Philopirio is a "lover of experience", and the erudite (and no doubt hypochondriacal) reader is thus encouraged to infer that Misomedon has come to dislike physicians while Polytheca may be construed as an allusion to the innumerable prescriptions she is given by the apothecary who has taken control of her life as well as her daughter's. If Mandeville does not say much about this tale-tell choice of names, he explains at great length in the preface to the second part of the *Fable* that names should not be chosen lightly. In this respect, his method in selecting fictitious names is that of most of the "Dialog Writers among the Moderns":

These are, generally speaking, judicious Compounds, taken from the Greek, that serve for short Characters of the imaginary Persons they are given to, denoting either the Party they side with, or what it is they love or hate.^{xv}

What applies to Cleomenes and Horatio in the *Fable*, also applies to the three characters in the *Treatise*, and although their names are invented, they should be considered as real people: "the Characters themselves are real, and as faithfully copied from Nature as I have been able to take them."^{xvi} The same commitment to realism, adds Mandeville in the first edition of the *Treatise*, commanded him to put Latin

words in the mouths of Philopirio and Misomedon without offering a translation to the reader, and to use only plain English for Polytheca's emotional narrative.^{xvii}

The reader is thus transported to the house of a rather affluent man of independent means whose excessive lifestyle has turned him into a "confirmed hypochondriack" over the years. His wife and daughter both suffer from hysteria, the former because of the death of many of her children and the exhaustion induced by her repeated pregnancies, and the latter because of a frail constitution and solitary life. The remedies ordered by Philopirio are fairly simple: exercise and a healthy diet combined with the pleasures of sociability, to which a light dose of the old remedies (bleeding and purging in cases of absolute necessity, as well as a handful of potions and pills) may be added if need be. The main interest of Mandeville's *Treatise* and its appeal to the potential reader and valetudinarian lie not in the revolutionary quality of the cure prescribed to Misomedon at the end of the third dialogue. What Philopirio finally recommends is in fact nothing more than what Hippocrates advised in his books on regimen: a combination of exercise and diet meant to promote good health and to prevent disease. Nor does it lie in the description of the disease itself. Robert Burton, for instance, had already given a lengthy and meticulous description of all the symptoms of melancholia nearly a century before Mandeville wrote his *Treatise*.^{xviii}

For Mandeville, the main danger for the patient comes from the unchannelled satisfaction of his desires—in Misomedon's case, his love of carnal pleasures and his excessive consumption of various commodities. But Misomedon is above all plagued by his bulimic and disorderly reading habits: he reads too many books, too many books of the wrong kind, and he reads them without method. In the second part of the *Fable* (fourth dialogue), Cleomenes warns Horatio against these reckless readers: "Among the *helluones librorum*, the Cormorant of Books, there are wretched Reasoners, that have canine Appetites, and no Digestion."^{xix} Misomedon certainly fits the description, and his unreasonable consumption of medical treatises has naturally induced him to believe he suffers from imaginary diseases:

Yet it is no longer ago than last Winter, that I could not be persuaded, but that I was Pox'd to all intents and purposes, and 'twas a thousand to one but I had been Salivated; for a considerable time I was all Day long examining my Shins, and Forehead, and feeling for *Nodes* and (a) *Tophi*: the losing of my Nose, my Palate, my Eyes, and all the frightful and shameful Consequences of the Disease possess'd my Fancy for hours together, till the Horror of them entering deeper into my Soul, sometimes struck me with such unspeakable Pangs of Grief, as no Torture, or Death could ever be able to give the like.

He became so overwhelmed by the bulk of medical knowledge he had tried to swallow (the indigestible enumeration of these books echoes the tedious succession of prescriptions in Latin abbreviations he recites in the third dialogue as in a tentative purge) that he was left unable to make any reasonable use of it. Tormented by the physical consequences of his flawed method of reading, Misomedon was paradoxically led to believe that the key to a sound diagnosis and an efficient cure was to be found on the crowded shelves of his library and was left to choose between contradictory theories, be they ancient or modern, and to devise medications of his own by piecing together elements more or less randomly selected from long abandoned prescriptions.

For Philopirio, tackling the symptoms of Misomedon's hypochondria is beside the point: a few common-sense recommendations can easily do the trick. But to act upon the causes of the disease requires time and a measure of craftiness. Conversation, or uncoercive dialogue (devised by Mandeville to be "pleasant and entertaining as well as plain and instructive") is here an invaluable didactic tool directed to the potential reader as well as the instrument of the cure. In many ways it may also appear as a form of talking cure, since in the course of this three-day conversation the patient experiences some measure of relief not only at hearing the enlightening discourse of Philopirio but also at finding a sympathetic ear:

If your Medicines do me no good, I am sure your Company will: One thing above the rest I admire in you, and that's your Patience, which must be unaffected, because you can be gay in the Exercise of it. You can't imagine, how a pertinent lively Discourse, or any thing that is Sprightly, revives my Spirits. I don't know what it is that makes me so, whether it be our talking together, the Serenity of the Air, or both; but I enjoy abundance of Pleasure, and this Moment, methinks, I am as well as ever I was in my Life.

Indeed, the interest of Mandeville's *Treatise*, does not lie in the dietary changes that are prescribed but in the digressive exchange and the proximity between the physician and his patient. Philopirio makes no more use of conversation to impose his own views on his distressed patient than Mandeville chooses the dialogue form to force-feed the reader authoritatively with his own mixture of medical erudition.^{xx} Criticising scholastic medicine as well as the modern "hypothetical doctors", Philopirio explores the various physical aspects of hypochondria with Misomedon and helps him find his way through the bulk of scientific or philosophical knowledge he has exposed himself to—from the essence of the soul and the existence of animal spirits to the nature of the digestive process and the stomach as the "conscience of the body", the uselessness of mathematics in the medical practice, or the effects of wine and alcohol on health. The relative abstemiousness recommended by Philopirio also applies to knowledge and reading. By the end of the *Treatise*, both Misomedon and the reader are supposed to be cured of their dysfunctional reading habits, and if they cannot refrain from reading medical books they should at least be able to do so with a critical eye. To the deceptive metaphors and abstruse idiom of treatises their "crabbed authors" intended for physicians or apothecaries rather than patients, Misomedon is led to prefer the more palatable enjoyments of classic poetry and drama. Quotations from Latin authors form the basis of the pleasurable exchange between Philopirio and Misomedon, and the *locus communis* necessary to their trustful relationship. The jocular exchanges in Latin that signal the end of each dialogue are the literary expression of Misomedon's regained confidence. His capacity to generate discourse shows that Philopirio's soothing conversation has not only unclogged his body but also decluttered his mind and replaced pointless learning by pleasurable erudition.

The last and ultimately decisive part of Mandeville's cure consists in altering the perception the valetudinarian has of himself. Endlessly absorbed by the egotistic satisfaction of his desires, blindfolded by his excessive interest in medical knowledge and by the harrowing physical expressions of his disease, Misomedon also suffers from a distorted image of his own self. Telling the long story of his illness, in a

confessional tone, is the first stage of this mandatory introspection. The patient is forced to confront his own fickleness, his pride, and the dangerous ideas he has developed about his own ailment and that of his wife. The three dialogues of the *Treatise* are the practical illustrations of a principle already expressed in the introduction to *The Fable of the Bees*: “One of the greatest Reasons why so few People understand themselves, is, that most Writers are always teaching Men what they should be, and hardly ever trouble their Heads with telling them what they really are.”^{xxi} In the second part of the *Fable*, Cleomenes also convinces Horatio of the necessity to search his own soul with words that could easily be those of Philopirio and Misomedon:

Hor. Hold Cleomenes; I can no longer resist the Force of Truth, and I am resolved to be better acquainted with my Self for the Future. Let me become your Pupil.

Cleo. Don’t banter me, Horatio; I don’t pretend to instruct a Man of your Knowledge; but if you will take my Advice, search into your Self with Care and Boldness.^{xxii}

In the *Treatise*, Horace echoes Horatio’s pledge as Philopirio quotes from the *Satires*: “Denique te ipsum concute” (Examine yourself). The second dialogue already shows the value of this salutary practice as Misomedon is now able to look at his own excesses from a distance: “I [...] can but smile at the comical Way we have of digging our own Graves.” If self-regarding passions are the foundation of economic prosperity for Mandeville, self-knowledge, and especially the knowledge and acceptance of one’s passions, is at the basis of the hypochondriac’s recovery.

The Treatise and The Fable of the Bees

Alongside the detailed exposition of Mandeville’s cure, the *Treatise* also contains a close examination of the medical profession in relation to notions extensively dealt with in the various editorial forms of *The Fable of the Bees*: pride, self-love and cupidity. The preface begins with an observation on the pride of the physician who “abandon[s] the solid Observation of never erring Nature to take up with the loose conjectures of his own wandering Invention, that the World may admire the Fertility of his Brain” and that of his patient who falls “in love with the reasoning Physician, to have an opportunity of shewing the depth of his penetration.” Yet, the economic dimension of the complex relationship uniting the patient and his physician (and apothecary) is also at the core of Mandeville’s reflection on hypochondria and hysteria.

All the actors of the medical transaction had already been portrayed in *The Grumbling Hive*: the greedy physician more concerned with his reputation and the growth of his fortune than with the health of his patients; the apothecaries, who are as dependent on the physicians as the physicians are on them, and all those who are convinced they know better: the patients themselves and their relatives:

Physicians valued Fame and Wealth
Above the drooping Patient’s Health,
Or their own Skill: The greatest Part

Study'd, instead of Rules of Art,
 Grave pensive Looks, and dull Behaviour;
 To gain th'Apothecary's Favour,
 The Praise of Mid wives, Priests and all,
 That served at Birth, or Funeral;
 To bear with th'ever-talking Tribe,
 And hear my Lady's Aunt prescribe;
 With formal Smile, and kind How d'ye,
 To fawn on all the Family;
 And, which of all the greatest Curse is,
 T'endure th'Impertinence of Nurses.

The first dialogue of *The Fable of the Bees, Part II* also contains some remarks on the moral behaviour of physicians, a subject which Mandeville had obviously not exhausted in the 1711 edition of the *Treatise*. Discussing Shaftesbury's *Characteristics* with respect to the part taken by individuals to the common good, Cleomenes takes Horatio's point of view *ad absurdum* and gives the example of a physician truly devoted to the care of his patients: "How conspicuous is the Benevolence of the Physician to his Kind, who, from Morning till Night, visiting the Sick keeps several Sets of Horses to be more serviceable to many and still grudges himself the time for the necessary Functions of Life!" But to Horatio, however devoted, a physician remains driven by his taste for personal glory and his love of money:

Fame, Wealth and Greatness every Body knows are the Things that all Lawyers and Physicians aim at, that are any ways considerable: That many of them entirely devote themselves to their Practice, with incredible Patience and Assiduity every Age can witness; but whatever Labour or Fatigue they submit to, the Motives of their Actions are as Conspicuous as their Callings themselves. [...] And considering what Slavery some Lawyers, as well as Physicians, undergo, I much question whether it would be possible for them to exert themselves in the same manner, tho' they would, if the constant Baits and Refreshments of large Fees did not help to support Human Nature, by continually stimulating this darling Passion.

Mandeville's own views on medical practice—very close to Sydenham's—were a mixture of Cleomenes' and Horatio's. The good physician should be ready to spend countless hours by his patient's bedside and always limit his prescriptions to what is strictly necessary to his recovery, while the remedies should be as natural as possible (simples rather than chemical mixtures). But Mandeville did not believe that a physician should sacrifice his own life to save that of others, nor that the question of his fees was irrelevant. If Philopirio criticises the modern doctors who go for ineffectual remedies and pompous theories as a way to make easy money, he nonetheless believes that the relation between a patient and his physician is also a commercial one, and that the commercial bond should be equally beneficial to both parties. Neil de Marchi cites money as one of the reasons why Bernard Mandeville may have decided to leave Holland, where a multitude of doctors competed for miserable fees.^{xxiii} However, his persona in the *Treatise* is slightly more ambiguous than the model physician defined by Horatio and Cleomenes. Philopirio advocates hands-on observation at the patient's bedside as opposed to speculative medicine that "teaches Men to cure all manner of Distempers in their Closets, without ever

seeing a Patient.” He also considers that a dedicated physician ought to be paid for curing his patients but he never raises the question of his fees with Misomedon, who is the one constantly offering large sums to secure the presence of his forbearing and benevolent doctor. It is Misomedon again who underlines the fact that Philopirio’s conception of medical practice is unlikely to make him rich, to which the latter answers that he has no passion for money:

Misom. But I am sure, you never sought heartily after Riches.

Phil. I have always been frugal enough to have no Occasion for them.

This turn of mind may seem to go against the Mandevillian doctrine of private vices inducing public benefits, and Philopirio is indeed very different from the physicians that “value Fame and Wealth,” but his answer is in fact very much in keeping with Mandeville’s economic thought. His confessed lack of interest for money is balanced by his taste for leisure and pleasure:

I can, and do heartily admire at those publick-spirited People that can slave at an Employment from early in the Morning, ’till late at Night, and sacrifice every Inch of themselves to their Callings; but I could never have had the Power to imitate them: Not that I love to be idle; but I want to be employed to my own liking; and if a Man gives away to others two thirds of the Time he is awake, I think he deserves to have the rest.

Philopirio is indeed ready to spend time with Misomedon, but he chose to specialise in hypochondria and hysteria because the dreary bedside auscultation is here replaced by a spirited conversation. A reputedly incurable disease (mainly because the Mandeville of the *Fable* knows that his patients will never be cured from their vices) such as hypochondriac melancholy is curbed by simple measures and little medication (no repulsive emetic or blood-letting) that merely require rare but regular visits. Prompted by his own “vice,” Philopirio’s method is undoubtedly beneficial to his patients and his apparent frugality is matched by the prudent lifestyle he recommends. Mandeville’s skilful physician is able, like his “skilful politician”, to divert the deep-rooted passions and desires of his patients towards less harmful objects. On the other hand, the patient’s incurable appetites and desires raise the promise of a regular income.

The time Philopirio spends with Misomedon, his unreproachful guidance, his capacity to listen without interruption to the detailed narrative of his patient’s illness, and above all his learned and good-humoured conversation makes up Philopirio’s secret cure:

Misom. Then what is your Secret in the Cure of this difficult Distemper?

Phil. I have several: I allow my self Time to hear and weigh the complaints of my Patients.

The very form of the *Treatise*—a dialogue taking place over three apparently consecutive days—is therefore the direct illustration of Mandeville’s conception of medical practice, and the reader is presented with a complete description of hypochondria but also with the various stages of a cure in words. The intended reader, himself a valetudinarian, although unable to take direct part in the conversation, is also divertingly enlightened by Misomedon’s mistakes and Philopirio’s suggestions.

Mandeville’s *Treatise* also gives the reader a precious insight into the medical and philosophical debates of the time. If the numerous authors mentioned by

Misomedon were largely part of the standard medical curriculum in seventeenth-century Europe, those discussed by the patient and his physician were more recent additions to medical knowledge. For Mandeville, and indeed for students of medicine throughout Europe, Leiden was no doubt an important centre for medical innovations and for the discussions of the new ideas that are included in the *Treatise*: Cartesian philosophy and the link between the body and the soul, the mechanistic conception of life, the role of the animal spirits in the general economy of the body, the ability of matter to think, the nervous system, blood circulation, the rejection of the humoral theory, the principles involved in digestion (fermentation, heat, trituration), dissection and the use of the microscope, bedside teaching, theory and observation, the cautious use of hypotheses as tools for the progress of knowledge, the introduction of mathematics in medical science, the heritage of Hippocrates and Galen, the importance of diet and exercise... In many ways, Mandeville's *Treatise* may be seen as a palatable compendium of the major philosophical and scientific debates of the time.

It is difficult, however, to know whether it was perceived as such by its readers. Indeed, virtually nothing is known about the reception of the *Treatise* by the medical profession (and even less by the general public) before Mandeville's death in 1733. *The Fable of the Bees* certainly put the *Treatise* in the shade, but as Friedrich Hayek has pointed out, the fact that it went through three editions and several reprints seems to be a reliable indication of a "considerable reputation".^{xxiv} Although each edition was repeatedly advertised by the publishers in various newspapers (the *Daily Courant*, the *Post-man* and the *Historical Account*, *Grub Street Journal*, the *Monthly Chronicle*, or the *London Evening Post*), critical acknowledgement of Mandeville's work is nearly nowhere to be found in the works of his contemporaries. In a recent article, Mauro Simonazzi has pointed out that, in Mandeville's lifetime, Thomas Apperley (a medical doctor "formerly Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge" and author of a volume of *Observations in Physick, both Rational and Practical* published in 1731) is apparently the only author to have mentioned Mandeville. Although Mandeville's name appears only once in Apperley's work (in a discussion on the "Concoction, or Digestion of the Meat in the Stomach"), the whole book owes greatly to the *Treatise*. Apperley not only reproduces numerous pages of Mandeville's *Treatise*, but he also adopts some of his most marked stances. In his preface, he makes Mandeville's opinion on what makes a good physician (reason and experience) his own, he rejects "the Jargon of Words" and "the Pageantry of Method", he casts doubts on the usefulness of hypotheses ("We are too fond of Hypotheses, set forth with store of Embellishments, and other recommendatory Glosses, which serve more for Ornament than Use"), he professes to be a free-thinker "in Physick (tho' not in Divinity)". If Apperley cites other "learned Authors and experience'd Practitioners" (Baglivi, but also Fuller, Willis, Sydenham, Pitcairn, Cheyne, Meade and many others), his *Observations* owe a lot to Mandeville's *Treatise*.^{xxv} This certainly shows that far from being read only by valetudinarians seeking help, Mandeville was also read and discussed by fellow physicians, if not by natural philosophers. But Apperley's obviously uncomfortable relation with the *Treatise* may also explain why it was not directly quoted by other

authors between 1711 and Mandeville's death in 1733. Apperley nearly always mentions his sources in brief footnotes, and he frequently uses quotation marks when he reproduces the works of others. Mandeville, however, is extensively quoted *verbatim*, in several parts of the book, without being acknowledged. In his preface, Apperley gives the following reason, although without specifically mentioning Mandeville: "And that the Reason why I don't always mention the Names of some learned Authors and experience'd Practitioners, from whence I have collected some Observations, is, because I would defeat those partial Impressions that too often arise from personal Regards only, with which too many determine the Force and Weakness of the Observation."^{xxvi} When Apperley wrote his *Observations*, Mandeville was already well known as the much-criticised author of *The Fable of the Bees* and his reputation could indeed tarnish the cogency of his medical writings, at least in the eyes of some readers. The *Treatise* was never reprinted after Mandeville's death in 1733, but Mauro Simonazzi has shown that it was quoted or mentioned as an authoritative source during the second half of the eighteenth century by authors such as Thomas Withers (1777), William Black (1782), or the Scottish physician Robert Whytt, who also wrote on hypochondria and hysteria in 1765, and apparently recommended Mandeville's work to his own students.^{xxvii}

Bernard Mandeville's *Treatise of Hypochondriack and Hysterick Diseases*, his only medical work and the only insight we have into his professional life as a physician, is more than just another book on a disease that was described by George Cheyne as "the English malady" in the year of Mandeville's death.^{xxviii} It is a complex literary creation in which the author of *The Fable of the Bees* had the opportunity to explore the effects of the passions on the economy of the human body while he was detailing their influence on that of the body politic in his other works. What is described here is not only the unfolding of the curing process along the principles outlined by Giorgio Baglivi, Thomas Sydenham, and others, but also a set of measures and instructions that are directed as much to the ailing character as to the suffering reader. Mandeville's book is not merely the expression of his approach to the duty of the physician and his understanding of the best method for curing the incurable. It is the work of a moral philosopher and of a physician, offered to the reader as a remedy in its own right—a concoction of reasonable scepticism, constructive conversation, and literary diversion. It is a *vade mecum* for self-knowledge as well as a guided meditation on luxury and consumption. Far from being an exceptional digression from Mandeville's long-term preoccupations, it must be seen as a crucial complement to his other works, including *The Fable of the Bees*.

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Title page of the 1711 edition:

A TREATISE
OF THE
HYPOCHONDRIACK
AND
HYSTERICK
PASSIONS

Vulgarly call'd the HYPO in MEN and
the VAPOURS in WOMEN;
In which the SYMPTOMS, CAUSES, and CURE
of those DISEASES are set forth after a Method entirely new.
The whole interspers'd with Instructive Discourses
ON THE
Real ART of PHYSICK itself;
And Entertaining Remarks on the Modern Practice
OF
PHYSICIANS
AND
APOTHECARIES:

Very useful to all, that have the Misfortune to stand in need of either.
In Three Dialogues

By B. DE MANDEVILLE, M. D.

Title page of the 1730 edition:

A TREATISE
OF THE
HYPOCHONDRIACK
AND
HYSTERICK
DISEASES

In Three Dialogues

By B. DE MANDEVILLE, M. D.

*Scire Potestates Herbarum, usumque medendi
Maluit, & mutas agitare inglorious artes.
Æneid, Lib. XII.¹*

Preface to the First Edition (1711)

When the crafty Tempter of Mankind meditating their Ruine, attack'd our first Sire in his Pride, he shew'd himself profoundly skill'd in Humane Nature; from which the Vice I named is so inseparable that it is impossible the latter should be ever entirely destroy'd, as long as the first remains. I have no design, Reader, to tire you, with the Catalogue of irretrievable Calamities, it has been the occasion of, both before and since the Creation; but shall only observe to you, that as it was destructive to inexperience'd Adam, by bringing Sickness and Death upon him, so it has still continued to be no less pernicious to his forewarn'd Posterity, by principally obstructing the progress of the glorious Art that should teach the Recovery as well as Preservation of Health.²

'Tis Pride that makes the Physician abandon the solid Observation of never erring Nature to take up with the loose conjectures of his own wandering Invention, that the World may admire the Fertility of his Brain; and it is pride in the Patient, that makes him in love with the reasoning Physician, to have an opportunity of shewing the depth of his penetration. But if the reasons that are often given by the one and taken for current by the other, were to be strictly examin'd into, it would almost induce a Man of Sense to disown his Kind, and make him blush, when he is call'd a Rational Creature.

I know that to advance this Doctrine is swimming against the Stream in our sprightly talkative Age, in which the silent Experience of Pains-taking Practitioners is ridicul'd and nothing cried up but the witty Speculations of Hypothetical Doctors.

In vain, says the Learned Baglivi: *Nos latet æternumque latebit minima illa, ac subtilis, non solum a sensibus, sed ab humanæ mentis acie prorsus remota solidarum æque ac fluidarum corporis viventis partium textura.*³ The emphatical Truth is lost upon the Times, and he must not expect to be believed by our acute

Philosophers, whose Pride won't allow that it is possible Nature should have recesses beyond the reach of their Sagacity, and reckons the injurious assertion an Affront to Humane Understanding.⁴

The Ingenious Sylvius de le Boe was a Physician, that in searching after the Causes of Distempers gave no small liberty to his prolifick Fancy; yet speaking of those, I am to treat of, he condescended to say, *Cognito rerum naturalium omnium est ab experientia per sensus facta; unde causas effectuum sic compertorum exquirat ratiocinatione concatenata ingenium humanum. De veritate tamen inventa certus esse potest nemo; nisi postquam de suæ ratiocinationis soliditate confirmatus fuerit per eandem experimentiam, ratiocinationem prædictam ipso opere confirmando et comprobando.*⁵ How little and precarious a use at this rate Reasoning is of in Physick, if compared to the absolute necessity of Experience, even by the confession of a Genius so fruitful in Suppositions, I leave all sensible Men to judge.

From what I have hinted, I don't question but some of my Readers have already taken a prejudice against me: but let me beg of those impatient ones, that for what I have said yet, and what they shall further see upon this Head in the First Dialogue, they would not Censure, or by way of Pun condemn me for an Enemy to Reason, before they are come to the end of the Second, and I shall have shew'n them what sort of Reasoning it is, I speak against.⁶

Some People, I know, will not be pleas'd with what I said in the 33d, and some of the following Pages; but I hope no Candid Reader will suspect from it, that I design peculiarly to reflect upon any one Town or Country more than another, much less to point at particular Persons. The terms I speak in are general, and whoever will be pleased to adapt anything of it to himself is more officious than I desire him to be. I thought it necessary to give this Caution, because I would have no body imagine, that I had Calculated for the Meridian of London only, what is equally applicable to most great Cities in Europe. But if any Body thinks I have been too severe upon my own Profession in the First, let him read on, and he'll find, that I have abundantly made them amends in the Third Dialogue.⁷

The next, that I'm afraid will quarrel with the Performance, will be such Apothecaries as are weak enough to be offended at what is said by a Man that has the *hypo*. I confess, they may meet with some things, that cannot claim their general Approbation, and are some of them very disobliging to the whole Fraternity; but if they'll consider, how profess'd an Enemy to Physick, and over fond of University-learning Misomedon (who is the Man that exclaims against them) is represented to be throughout the Book; they'll find, that without spoiling his Character I could not have made him speak otherwise than he does.

When I shall have satisfied all these, I expect others, that without entering into the merits of the Cause, or examining, whether the Reflections I have made on Physick, and those that belong to it are just or not, will ask me, what reason I had to be so full of them in a Treatise, where no body would look for them? To whom I make this answer.

Having in mind to publish my Sentiments concerning the Distempers to which I had more particularly applied my self for some Years, I conceived it would be less Presumption, if I wrote by way of Information to Patients, that might labour under

them, than if I pretended to teach other Practitioners, that profess to Cure them as well as my self. It is natural to think, that this made me more solicitous to satisfy the first, than concern'd, how it should be relish'd by the latter. I knew the Study of Physick to be very Austere in itself, and that the practical Authors, generally writing to those of their own Profession, were very far from being diverting; and considering that the tedious Enumeration of Signs and Causes upon the Neck of one another, as well as the frightful heaps of different Medicines, found in those that have treated of the *hypochondriack* and *hysterick* Passions, must be very tiresome and disagreeable to People that seek relief in a Distemper of which Impatience is one of the surest Symptoms, I resolv'd to deviate from the usual method, and make what I had to say as palatable as I could to those I had in view for my Readers. To this end looking out for something both serious and diverting that might embellish, and yet not be too remote from the Subject, I pitch'd upon the Physical Remarks, which you shall find interwoven with the main matter. *Acriora orexim excitant embammata*. And reflecting on the great Expense the *hypochondriaci* are often at, both for Fees and Medicines, thought nothing could be more reasonably pleasing to them, than to be entertain'd at the Cost of those, that to many of them have been so chargeable to no purpose.

But, say the Criticks, if you Write for the benefit of Patients, why don't you come down to their Capacities? Is every body bound to understand your Physical Jargon? And if you must quote Authors in strange Languages, why don't you Translate them, that your Ostentation at least might not be prejudicial to those whose Applause you would Court? In reply to those angry Gentlemen, I shall tell them, that it was Decency, that forc'd me to what they complain of: and that considering, who the Persons are, that compose the Dialogue, to observe the Rules of it I could not let Misomedon talk otherwise, than a Man of Learning, that had made Physick his particular Study, would to a Physician whom he consults about his Distemper. It would be ridiculous to hear two Men discoursing together, Translate to one another, what both are supposed to understand. If this won't satisfie them, I must refer them to the Second Dialogue, where they shall see, that it is not inconsistent, to have writ to Patients, and at the same time chiefly design'd it for Men of some Learning.

But, lest what I said last might frighten away those that understand no other Language but their own, I promise all *Hypochondriacal* People, (the meanest of which I have generally found Men of tolerable Sense) that, passing by the Latin and all Physical terms, what they shall find in plain English, will be sufficient to give them a greater Insight into the Nature of their Distemper than they can be furnish'd with any where else; and am well assur'd, that many upon the reading of this Treatise will be able to penetrate into some of the first Causes of their Affliction that were hid from them before.

In treating of the *Hysterick* Passion, and what more immediately relates to the Complaints of the Fair Sex, I have likewise taken care; that, to fit it for their perusal nothing should be cramped with Latin; to render that part pleasant and entertaining as well as plain and instructive, I have made use of a third Person, and introduced a Lady, that feelingly describes her own ailments and Circumstantially relates what had happen'd to her Daughter, who had been *Hysterick* for several Years, and am

perswaded that from the Historical Account which *Polytheca* gives of both, and what further passes between her self and the physician she consults with, a much clearer notion may be had of the Distemper call'd the *Vapours*, and the variety of *Hysterick Fits*, than from a bare recital of different Symptoms confusedly huddled together, and that the first even to People of ordinary Capacities will be as intelligible as any that are extant of the latter.

It will easily appear, that *Polytheca* as well as her Husband and Daughter are feign'd Patients of my own Contrivance; but be assured that every one of their Complaints were first taken from Nature. The Instances I give are so crowded with Symptoms, that I never expect to find one Person, whose Case exactly shall resemble any of the Three; and as I have only set down the Signs, that are Obvious and Common in the Distempers I treat of, so it is possible, that some *Hysterick* as well as *Hypochondriacal* Persons may be troubled with some peculiar Symptom or other, that is not to be found in the Book; but whoever has read it through, and in some part or other of it not met with three or four Symptoms applicable to himself, may depend upon it, that his Affliction does not come under the denomination of either.

In these Dialogues, I have done the same as *Seneca* did in his *Octavia*, and brought my self upon the Stage; with this difference, that he kept his own Name, and I changed mine for that of *Philopirio*, a Lover of Experience, which I shall always profess to be: Wherefore I desire my Reader to take whatever is spoken by the Person I named last, as said by my self; which I entreat him not to do with the Part of *Misomedon*, whom the better to illustrate his Distemper, I have made guilty of some extravagant Sallies, that in strictness I would not be accountable for.⁸

I am likewise to acquaint my Reader, that, laying hold of the freedom usually taken in Dialogues, I have in two or three places been more particular as to my own private Affairs, than could be allow'd of in a less familiar way of Writing; and to obviate an Objection, that might be made, *Page 40*, I'll put him in mind, that Physicians, who have either no leisure, or no inclination to Write, tho' they have very great Business, where they are, seldom are celebrated beyond the Countries they live in.⁹ The two populous cities there meant are *Amsterdam* and *Rotterdam*; in the latter of which, the Physician mention'd in the same Place, lived in Repute above Thirty Years, and for the greatest part of that time more in Request among the better sort of People than any other; as no body can be ignorant of, that lived there before the Year 92, and knew any thing at all.¹⁰

From the Romantick pretence, that neglecting their Private Interest, Men ought only to labour for the Good of Others, it is become the fashion among the Censorious to give the name of *Quack Bills* to all the Writings of Physicians, by which it is possible, that besides the common welfare of the People, they can have any By-end of increasing their Reputation and promoting their own Practice; and I am not so silly as to imagine that I shall not have this laid to my Charge, especially by such, as shall think themselves gall'd by any passage in the Book; but as at this rate the most Learned Practitioners must in strictness come under this Imputation; or else that of Vain-glory, if their Works came out, whilst they were Alive, I don't think it worth my while to make the least Apology for it. If a Regular Physician writing of a

Distemper, the Cure of which he particularly professes, after a manner never attempted yet, be a *Quack*, because besides his Design of being instructive and doing Good to others, he has likewise an aim of making himself more known by it than he was before, then I am one. The common good and Benefit of Mankind are Stalking horses, made use of by every body, and generally most talk'd of by those that least regard them. But the Men of Sense of our clear-sighted Age are wiser than to expect such Heroick flights of self-denying Virtue from their fellow Creatures, and whoever understands anything of a Green knows that every Bowl must have a Bias, and that there would be no Playing without it.

Wherefore as Times go, and the whole World is degenerate, I don't think, that he is either a bad Subject or a useless Member of humane Society, who, without detriment to the Publick, serves his own Ends, by being beneficial to those that employ him: More I don't pretend to; [neither would I have scrupl'd to direct the Reader to my habitation, if I made my constant abode in the City; but as I live with my Family out of Town, instead of dating this epistle from my own House, I shall refer him to the Booksellers and Printer, named at the bottom of the Title-Page, from whom any one may always learn where to find me.^{11]}

Preface to the Second, Enlarged Edition (1730)

When the crafty Tempter of Mankind meditating their Ruin, attack'd our first Parents in their Pride, he shew'd himself profoundly skill'd in humane Nature; from which the Vice I named is so inseparable that it is impossible the latter should be ever entirely destroy'd, as long as the first remains. I have no Design, Reader, to tire you with the Catalogue of irretrievable Calamities it has been the Occasion of, both before and since the Creation; but shall only observe to you, that as it was destructive to unexperienc'd *Adam*, by bringing Sickness and Death upon him, so it has still continued to be no less pernicious to his forewarn'd Posterity, by principally obstructing the Progress of the glorious Art that should teach the Recovery as Well as Preservation of Health.

'Tis pride that makes the Physician abandon the solid Observation of never-erring Nature, to take up with the loose Conjectures of his own wandering Invention, that the World may admire the fertility of his Brain; and it is Pride in the Patient, that makes him in love with the Reasoning Physician, to have an Opportunity of shewing the Depth of his own Penetration. But if the Reasons that are often given by the one, and taken for current by the other, were to be strictly examin'd into, it would almost induce a Man of Sense to disown his Kind, and make him blush, when he is called a Rational Creature.

I know that to advance this Doctrine is swimming against the Stream in our sprightly talkative Age, in which the silent Experience of Pains-taking Practitioners is ridicul'd and nothing cry'd up but the witty Speculations of Hypothetical Doctors.

In vain, says the Learned Baglivi: (a) *Nos latet æternumque latebit minima illa, ac subtilis, non solum à sensibus, sed ab humanæ mentis acie prorsus remota solidarum æque ac fluidarum corporis viventis partium textura.* The emphatical Truth is lost upon the Times, and he must not expect to be believ'd by our acute Philosophers, whose Pride won't allow that it is possible, Nature should have Recesses beyond the Reach of their Sagacity, and reckons the injurious Assertion an Affront to human Understanding.

The ingenious *Sylvius de le Boe* was a Physician, that in searching after the Causes of Distempers gave no small Liberty to his prolifick Fancy; yet speaking of those I am to treat of, he condescended to say, (b) *Cognito rerum naturalium omnium est ab experientia per sensus facta; unde causas effectuum sic compertorum exquirat ratiocinatione concatenata ingenium humanum. De veritate tamen inventa certus esse potest nemo; nisi postquam de suæ ratiocinationis soliditate confirmatus fuerit per eandem experimentiam, ratiocinationem prædictam ipso opere confirmando & comprobando.* How little and precarious a Use at this rate Reasoning is of in Physick, if compared to the absolute Necessity of Experience, even by the Confession of a Genius so fruitful in Suppositions, I leave all sensible Men to judge.

From what I have hinted, I don't question but some of my Readers have already taken a Prejudice against me: but let me beg of those impatient ones, that for what I have said yet, and what they shall further see upon this Head in the first Dialogue, they would not censure, or by way of Pun condemn me for an Enemy to Reason, before they are come to the End of the Second, and that I shall have shew'd them what sort of Reasoning it is, I speak against.

Some people, I know, will not be pleased with what I said in the 39th, and some of the following Pages;¹² but I hope no candid Reader will suspect from it, that I design peculiarly to reflect upon any one Town or Country more than another, much less to point at particular Persons. The terms I speak in are general, and whoever will be pleased to adapt any thing of it to himself, is more officious than I desire him to be. I thought it necessary to give this Caution, because I would have no body imagine, that I had calculated for the Meridian of *London* only, what is equally applicable to most great Cities in *Europe*. But if any body thinks I have been too severe upon my own Profession in the First, let him read on, and he'll find, that I have abundantly made them Amends in the Third Dialogue.

The next, that I am afraid will quarrel with the Performance, will be such Apothecaries, as are weak enough to be offended at what is said by a Man that has the *Hypo*. I confess, they may meet with some things, that cannot claim their general Approbation, and are some of them very disobliging to the whole Fraternity; but if

^a That most minute and subtle Texture, remote not only from the Senses but likewise from the Reach of human Understanding, which the solid as well as fluid Parts are made of in a living Creature, is and will eternally be hid from us.

^b We have all our Knowledge of things natural from Experience made by the Senses; from whence by reasoning consequentially human Understanding enquires into the Causes of the Effects we find; yet no body can be sure that he is in the right, 'till after he has been convinced of the Solidity of his Reasoning by the same Experience, proving and confirming the said Reasoning with matter of Fact.

they'll consider, how profess'd an Enemy to Physick, and over-fond of University-learning *Misomedon* (who is the Man that exclaims against them) is represented to be throughout the Book; they'll find, that without spoiling his Character I could not have made him speak otherwise than he does.

When I shall have satisfied all these, I expect others, that without entering into the Merits of the Cause, or examining, whether the Reflections I have made on Physick, and those that belong to it, are just or not, will ask me, What reason I had to be so full of them in a Treatise, where no body would look for them? To whom I make this Answer.

Having a mind to publish my Sentiments concerning the Distempers to which I had more particularly apply'd my self for some Years, I conceiv'd it would be less Presumption, if I writ by way of Information to Patients, that might labour under them, than if I pretended to teach other Practitioners, that profess to cure them as well as my self. It is natural to think, that this made me more solicitous to satisfy the first, than concerned, how it should be relish'd by the latter. I knew the Study of Physick to be very austere in it self, and that the practical Authors, generally writing to those of their own Profession, were very far from being diverting; and considering that the tedious Enumeration of Signs and Causes upon the Neck of one another, as well as the frightful Heaps of different Medicines, found in those that have treated of the *Hypochondriack* and *Hysterick* Passions, must be very tiresome and disagreeable to People that seek Relief in a Distemper, of which Impatience is one of the surest Symptoms, I resolv'd to deviate from the usual Method, and make what I had to say as palatable as I could to those, I had in view for my Readers. To this end looking out for something, both serious and diverting that might embellish, and yet not be too remote from the Subject, I pitch'd upon the Physical Remarks, which you shall find interwoven with the main Matter. (a) *Acriora orexim excitant embam-mata*. And reflecting on the great expense the *Hypochondriaci* are often at, both for Fees and Medicines, thought nothing could be more reasonably pleasing to them, than to be entertain'd at the Cost of those, that to many of them have been so chargeable to no purpose.

The whole is divided into three Dialogues: The Persons introduced are *Misomedon*, *Philopirio*, and *Polytheca*, of whom the last named has only a Share in Part of the Third.

Misomedon is a Man of Learning, who whilst he had his Health was of a gay, even Temper, and a friendly open Disposition; but having long labour'd under the *Hypochondriack* Passion is now much alter'd for the worse, and become peevish, fickle, censorious and mistrustful. Notwithstanding this, in fine Weather sometimes he has lucid Intervals, that last for two or three Days: In these he is very talkative, loves to converse with Men of Letters, and is often facetious. Tho' in his Discourse, he seems not to want Sense or Penetration, yet he is partial in his Censures, and unsteady in his Humour; sometimes very complaisant, at others captious, but always prone to Satyr. He is much given to ramble from one thing to another, and often to change his Opinion. When he speaks of himself, he is apt to break out in Rhetorical

^a *Sharp Sauces quicken the Appetite.*

Flights, and seems to take Pleasure in talking of his Ailments, and relating the History of his Distemper, and what has happen'd to him. He has study'd Physick, but is no Well-wisher to it, and bears a great Hatred to Apothecaries.

Philopirio is a Foreigner and a Physician, who, after he had finish'd his Studies and taken his Degree Beyond-Sea, was come to *London* to learn the Language; in which having happen'd to take great delight, and in the mean time found the Country and the Manners of it agreeable to his Humour, he has now been many years, and is like to end his days in *England*.

Polytheca, who is the Wife of *Misomedon*, had been a gay sprightly Woman, of an easy pleasant Humour; but having been afflicted with the Vapours to a high degree for many Years, she can now hardly think of any thing but her own Distemper, and is as much a Friend to Physick and the Apothecaries, as her Husband is an Enemy to them.

There are few *Hypochondriacks*, who, when the Distemper has been of a long standing, are not remarkable for something that is odd and singular in their Temper, their Manner, or Behaviour; and as *Misomedon* is represented as an Admirer of polite Literature, and having been a Lover of Reading from his Youth, so I thought it not unnatural, that such a Man, upon the least turn of his Head, might become over-fond of *Latin* Proverbs, and fuller in his discourse of Quotations from the *Classicks*, than a Man of Sense, that understands the World, would chuse to be, if his Head was perfectly clear. This then is one of the Oddities which I have knowingly made *Misomedon* guilty of. Many Readers perhaps will at first view find the same Fault with *Philopirio*; but upon better Examination they'll be convinced that what he does is only out of Complaisance, and to fall in with the Humour of his Patient, to whom, when he comes to be well acquainted with him, he owns that he has made it his (a) Study to do so. Besides, the learned Reader will easily see the difference there is on this Head between the Doctor and his Patient: All the *Latin* not relating to Physick which the first makes use of, consists in familiar Phrases that are often met with, and which every School-boy knows: But the Generality of the Proverbs which the other quotes are less trite, and such as belong to a higher Form, and which to be well acquainted with, bespeaks a more thorough Knowledge of the *Latin* Tongue, and a greater degree of Literature, than the Doctor seems to pretend to. *Misomedon* likewise often turns his Discourse palpably, and says things on purpose to make room for a Proverb, which *Philopirio* never does; and several Times when this latter says something, to which a *Latin* Proverb might be applicable, and yet takes no notice of it, the other does it for him, quotes it, and without saying any thing else, lets him go on afterwards.

But how fond soever *Misomedon* is represented to be, of Proverbs and other Quotations in *Latin*, yet he is not so unpolite, as to make use of them before those who do not understand that Language; by which means, Care has been taken that in treating of the *Hysterick* Passion, and what more immediately relates to the Complaints of the Fair Sex, nothing should be cramp't with *Latin*. To render that Part

^aPage 377.

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pleasant and entertaining, as well as plain and instructive, I have made use of a third Person, and introduced a Lady, that feelingly describes her own Ailments, and circumstantially relates what had happen'd to her Daughter, who has been *hysterick* for several Years; and am persuaded that from the historical Account which *Polytheca* gives of both, and what further passes between herself and the Physician she consults with, a much clearer Notion may be had of the Distemper called the *Vapours*, and the Variety of *Hysterick* Fits, than from a bare Recital of different Symptoms confusedly huddled together; and that the first, even to People of ordinary Capacities, will be as intelligible, as any that are extant of the latter.

It will easily appear, that *Polytheca*, as well as her Husband and Daughter are feigned Patients of my own Contrivance: But be assured that every one of their Complaints was first taken from Nature. The Instances I give are so crowded with Symptoms, that I never expect to find one Person, whose Case exactly shall resemble any of the Three; and as I have only set down the Signs, that are obvious and common in the Distempers I treat of, so it is possible, that some *Hysterick* as well as *Hypochondriacal* Persons may be troubled with some peculiar Symptom or other, that is not to be found in the Book; but whoever have read it through (whether Men or Women) and in some part or other not met with three or four Symptoms applicable to themselves, may depend upon it, that their Afflictions do not come under the Denomination of either.¹³

In the Preface of the first Edition I made an Apology for not rendring into *English*, the *Latin* that was scatter'd through the Book, thinking it would be ridiculous (as I said there) to hear two Men discoursing together, translate to one another what both are supposed to understand. But since that I have heard so many Complaints of the *Latin* not being translated, that I have alter'd my Measures, and made Notes at the Bottom of every Page, to explain what is not *English* in the Text of it. But as it was not my Business in this Treatise to teach Languages, I have been more solicitous to set down the Meaning of the *Latin* Passages, than I have been about the Words themselves; and I have had such a regard to all Readers, that not to offend or make any of them uneasie, I have soften'd the Phrase, and deviated from the real Signification of the *Latin* in two or three Places, where I thought that a more just Translation would have been too expressive to be read by or before every body. I have taken notice already, that among the Proverbs which *Misomedon* makes use of, there are such as are not common, and seldom met with, and it is possible that some of them may not have occur'd before, even to Men of good Reading; but there is not one, of which I have said in the Notes that it is a Proverb, or used proverbially, without having good Authority for it; for the Truth of which I appeal to the *Adagies* of *Erasmus*, where every one of those that are the least obvious may be found.¹⁴

I know People, that have laugh'd at the *Latin*, which I have made the Dialogues to end with; but as I have not been able to find any thing ridiculous in it, I have alter'd nothing there. *Misomedon* always begins to speak *Latin* first; and I don't believe that any Man of Sense, who will enter into the Character which is given to that Person, and likewise take notice of the Care which *Philopirio* takes to fall in with the Humour of his Patient, will find any Absurdity in what I am now speaking of.

That the Notes might not take up more Room than necessary, the Reader will find, that no Notice is taken in them of any *Latin* or *Greek* that is explain'd in the Text itself, and that no Words are translated more than once, tho' they occur again afterwards.

Another thing, which I fear will be carpt at, is, that two Persons should discourse for half an Hour about a Science, which they both profess not to understand, as the Doctor and his Patient do about Mathematicks. This I own is very extraordinary: but no wise Man would be highly offended at it, before he had seen, what it was they said concerning them. That real Mathematicians, at least the greatest Part of them, will not be displeas'd with it, I more than believe: And as to those, who knowing little or nothing of that Science themselves, yet depreciate others who don't pretend to it; those Braggadocio's, who would be thought to be what they are not, and only make use of the Name of Mathematicks to impose upon the World for Lucre; they are very welcome to think of it as they please.

The first Edition of this Book was published in the Year 1711. Since that I have added considerably to it, and made great Alterations in it; but I have changed nothing as to the Time in which the Conversation, that is the Subject to these Dialogues, is supposed to have happen'd: So that when the Reader meets with the Words *a late Author* or any other Passage, where things are spoken of as then present, he ought to subtract at least 19 Years from what is present now.¹⁵ And that the Book might justly continue to be consider'd as wrote so many Years ago, I have not meddled with, or taken notice of any thing, that has been published or transacted since that time. I acquaint the Publick with this, that some might not apply to Men, now living, what was formerly design'd to People that have been in their Graves a dozen Years or longer.

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The First Dialogue Between Philopirio *a Physician*, and Misomedon *His Patient*

Misomedon. I have sent for you, Doctor, to consult you about a Distemper, of which I am very well assured I shall never be cured.

Philopirio. Whatever your Case may be, Sir, it is a great Misfortune, you entertain so ill an Opinion of it; but I hope, your Disease may prove less desperate than yours Fears [represent it.]

Misom. It is neither better nor worse than I tell you, and what I say, is what I am convinc'd of by Reason, and not a Suggestion of my Fears: But you think, perhaps, I'm a Mad-Man, to send for a Physician, when I know before-hand that he can do me no good: Truly, Doctor, I am not far from it: But first of all, Are you in haste, pray?

Phil. Not in great haste, Sir.¹⁶

Misom. I am glad of that; for most of your Profession always either are, or at least pretend to be, in a great hurry. But tho' you are at leisure, Can you hear a Man talk for half an Hour together, and, perhaps, not always to the purpose, without interrupting him? For I have a great deal to say to you, several Questions to ask you, and know I shall be very tedious; but if you can bear with me, I'll consider your Trouble, and pay you for your Time, and Patience both. Can you stay an Hour?

Phil. Yes, Sir, or longer, if there be occasion.

Misom. Then, pray Sir, sit down.—I did not make you come up Stairs because I keep Chamber my self, for I'm abroad every Day; but I thought it best to Discourse you in my Study, because it is the quietest Room in the House, and I hate to be disturb'd. That you may be the better acquainted with my Distemper, I'll begin with you (a) *ab ovo*, and give you as short an Account as I can, how I have pass'd the greatest part of my Life. I was very irregular, when I was young; but for these

^a *From the beginning.*

Seventeen or Eighteen Years, I have lived moderately enough, and but seldom been guilty of any Excess. I wanted but two Months of being One and Twenty, when my Father died and left me Three Hundred a Year; I lived then at *Oxford*, but upon this I left the University, and being design'd for the Law, to perfect my Studies and qualify my self for the Bar, came up to *London*; where not being used to be so flush in Cash, I quickly became Extravagant, and growing weary of my crabbed Authors, at last I threw by the Books, and minded nothing but my Pleasures; of which some were very Expensive. I went to see *France*, and the *Low Countries*, and coming back found, that by my way of living in three Years and a half, I had so far out-run the Constable, that half of my Estate was hardly sufficient to pay for my Debts, and clear the remainder. At Five and Twenty I Married; my Wife's Fortune paid off some Scores, and her self was of such an engaging Temper, that she wholly took up my Thoughts: I left all my looser Company, and by her management was soon reclaim'd from my former Vices: Love and Pastime was all our Employment, from Morning till Night; we study'd nothing, but how to please and divert one another: Neither of us could be call'd Extravagant, yet both desired to live handsomely; my Wife admired Cloaths, and I loved good Eating, and our necessary Expences exceeded twice my Income. I knew this would not last, yet it never affected me with the least Concern, or ever gave me an Hour's disquiet. I hated the Law, and indeed any thing of business; if a Place had offer'd, I would have purchas'd it; yet I was always remiss in looking out for one. I never troubled my head but with just providing what we wanted; my Care was never extended beyond my present Occasions, [and I seemed to be influenc'd by no other precept, than that of Horace, (a) *Quid sit futurum cras fuge querere*]. After this manner having reduc'd every thing into Money, my whole substance lasted us six Years; during which, [(b) *sponsi vitam ducentes*,] we were gay and contented, and even in our own Thoughts the happiest Couple in the Universe. When I had about Thirty Pounds left, ow'd near Three Hundred, and saw no prospect or probability of ever having any more, a distant Relation of my Mother's, whom I had hardly ever heard of, died above a Hundred Miles off, and left me a Thousand a Year in Land, and a good Estate in Money. Whether this was more welcome, or seasonable, I leave you to judge: Yet such an evenness of Temper I enjoy'd at that time, and so much had I lived to my mind, that (a Coach excepted, which I set up to gratifie my Wife) it hardly made any visible alteration in my manner of living. When I had taken Possession of, and was entirely settled in my Estate, as soon as I had leisure to reflect on the Condition I had been in, I could not look without horror on the dismal Prospect of Poverty and Want, to which I must in a very little time inevitably have been reduced, had not propitious Fortune, as it were by a Miracle, so unexpectedly snatch'd me from the frightful Precipice. I was often amazed at the Tranquillity, or rather stupid Lethargy, I had been in, and made a firm Resolution to be at least so Prudent for the future, as not to neglect the management of my Affairs, or live beyond the bounds of my Revenue.

^a *Avoid enquiring what will be to-morrow.*

[Horace, *Odes*, I, 9 "To Thaliarchus"]

^b *Leading a Bridegroom's Life. A Proverb applicable to those who live in Ease and Pleasure.*

Among other things of Value, which my Kinsman had left me, there was a handsome Collection of Medals, and the greatest part of the Library, which you see here. I had always born a great respect for Learning, and when I flung up the Study of the Law, I still continued an admirer (a) *Humanioris Literaturæ*, and in my greatest idleness, *Virgil* and *Horace*, *Terence* and *Plautus*, with half a dozen more of the *Classicks*, made always a great part of my Diversion. Whether the opportunity of revolving some scarce and exquisite Authors invited me to the pursuit of Learning, or that my riper Years led me to more solid Pleasures, I don't know; but within a few Months after my new Acquisitions, I became a great lover of Reading, and by degrees fell to hard Study; but notwithstanding that I was very intent on my Books, I still remain'd, as I had always been, (b) *rei uxoriæ addictissimus*, and divided my Hours (c) *inter Venerem & Musas*; after this manner for four or five Years I enjoy'd abundance of satisfaction, and tho' I had seemingly more Care upon me, pass'd away my time rather more contentedly (if that be possible) than before. As to my Health, I was near Seven and Thirty, when I could have boasted, that since the Small-Pox, which I had in my Infancy, I had not suffer'd an hour's Illness, or endured a moment's Pain, and applying that of *Seneca* to my self, have bragg'd, that I had always been happy; (d) *et quod cousque sine morsu animi vitam transieram*.

The first Cause I had to complain was, that now and then I began to be troubled with the Heart-burning, which in a little time became a constant Companion to me: Chalk and Water for above half a Year was a present Cure; then I used Lozenges, made up of Crabs-Eyes, burnt Ivory, Bole-Armenick, &c.¹⁷ these likewise eas'd me for a great while, whenever I took them; after them I made use of abundance of other things recommended in that Case, and at last found nothing reliev'd me more than the chewing of Liquorice. Hitherto I had only Quack'd with my self, and the highest I had consulted was our Apothecary in ordinary. I perceived, that all the Remedies I had taken were only Palliative, and none of them had touch'd the Cause, but on the contrary I grew daily worse, and the Heart-burning was no longer the only symptom that disturb'd me. After every Meal I had flushings in my Face; all Day long I was troubled with Wind and sour Belches, and every Morning as long as I was Fasting, I had my Mouth continually fill'd with a clear insipid Water, which without any straining came off my Stomach; yet notwithstanding all this my Appetite was good, and I slept very well. This I confess was the reason, that I so long slighted my Distemper; but as it became more troublesome than ordinary, I sent for an Eminent Physician, whom I knew to be a Man of great Learning. When I had told the Doctor my Case, and answer'd him what Questions he thought fit to ask, I desired, as the Prerogative of a Man of Letters, that I might be acquainted with the Cause of my Distemper, and have a Rational account given me of the Method and Prescriptions he design'd I should follow: which being granted after a small Pause; I was inform'd

^a *Of polite Learning.*

^b *A very fond Husband.*

^c *Between Love and Study.*

^d *And that till then I had past my Days without Trouble of Mind.*

that the heat and burning all along the (a) *Œsophagus*, from which the Distemper [(from a vulgar Mistake of the Part)] seem'd to have deriv'd the Name of Heart-burning, as well as the Flushings in my Face after Meals, were (b) *certo certius*, occasion'd by an (c) *Intemperies hepatis calida*, which in my Case happen'd to be accompanied with an (d) *Intemperies Stomachi frigida*, as was manifest from the cold (e) *Pituïta*, which I voided every morning, as well as the Wind, sour Belches, and other signs of Indigestion.

As to the Cure, that repeated bleeding from the left (f) *salvatella* would satisfie both *Indications*, and to use his own terms, *utranque fere paginam absolveret*,¹⁸ for that by this means the Fountain of heat, the Blood, of which my Liver had too much, would by way of *Antispasis* or *Revulsion* be drawn from the Right side, which was enough to answer the first *Indication*: Concerning the second, he said, that as *Venesection*, in general, both by the Ancients and Moderns, was allow'd to quicken the Blood, so it would procure heat to that side, where the motion was made; which consequently would be imparted not only to the upper Orifice of the *Ventricle*, to which alone the Name of *Stomachus* properly belong'd, tho' given to the whole (g) *Viscus*; but likewise to the *Spleen*, which both as to its Office and Situation was to the Stomach as a Furnace to a Copper, for which reason by the Ancients it had always wisely been call'd (h) *Fomes ventriculi*: He told me moreover, that it was in regard to that heat-administring *Viscus*, that he ordered the opening of the *Salvatella*, and no other Vein, because according to *Galen* and others, which he named, it had a peculiar Influence upon the Milt.¹⁹

Besides bleeding, my Doctor told me, I was to be Purg'd, that by expelling the *Pituitous Humour*, (i) *per inferiora*, it might be drawn and remov'd as far as possible from the Stomach; that to this end he would prescribe a Bolus of *Electuarium e Citris solutivum*, with some Grains of the *Trochisci Alhandulæ*; having told me the Ingredients of the Electuary, he shew'd me how this Prescription would likewise answer every *Indication*; that first the Conserve of the Flowers of *Violets* and *Bugloss*, as well as the *Pulvis Diatragacanthi frigidi*, would infallibly cool my Liver; secondly, the *Citron-Peal*, *Ginger* and *Fennel-Seeds* would expel the Wind that troubled me, and warm my Stomach, whilst the *Diagridium*, *Turpeth*, and *Senna*, which all enter'd into the Judicious Composition, would eliminate the *Peccant Matter*; and thirdly that (j) *pro Stimulo*, he added the *Trochisci Alhandulæ*,

^a *The Gullet.*

^b *Without all Doubt.*

^c *A hot temperament of the Liver.*

^d *A cold temperament of the Stomach.*

^e *Water.*

^f *A vein in the Arm so call'd.*

^g *Entrail.*

^h *Fuel to the Stomach.*

ⁱ *Downward.*

^j *For a Spur.*

in regard to the (a) *Pituita Viscida*, which, as my Distemper was of some standing, it was to be fear'd, would closely adhere to the *Intestina*.²⁰ After the Bleeding and Purging, I was for a Fortnight or three Weeks to drink the *Epsom Waters*, which (b) *ex superabundanti* would *Refrigerate* my Liver, as well as constantly lead forth the *Pituitous Matter*; which, from my Vicious Constitution he foresaw, would continue to be bred as long as the Debility of the (c) *Facultas Concoctrix* of my Stomach was not wholly remedied: As to Diet, I was to be contented (d) *victu tenui*, and to avoid all things that were Fat, Hot or Sour. Having for a while admired the Profoundity of the venerable old Gentleman's Skill, by which so dexterously he knew at once to take care of the heat of my Liver, and the Coldness of my Stomach, I gave him a handsome Fee, and thank'd him for his Advice. When he was gone, I confess that I did not so much as question my Cure; but the more I consider'd the Wisdom I had heard, the more I wish'd that I had sent for him sooner; thinking that *Hippocrates* himself had certainly never acted with greater Judgement, or Sagacity. The next Day I sent for the Surgeon and Apothecary both, and according to Prescription in Eight Days I was copiously Blooded twice, and Purged four times: It is true, that by this time I had lost my Heart-burning, and Sourness I complain'd of in my Stomach; but instead of it I had a Pain in it, which I had never felt before: I was as much troubled with Wind in my Bowels as ever, and so Weak and Faint that I could hardly crawl along, yet I was resolv'd to follow Directions; and remembering the old *Pentameter*, (e) *Dulcius ex ipso fonte bibuntur aquæ*, went to *Epsom* to drink the Waters to the best advantage: The first Day I drank 'em the Pain of my Stomach was pretty much increas'd, the second I had quite lost my Appetite, and the third I was taken with a violent Looseness; in which I observed, that whatever I voided had received very little alteration in either my Stomach or Guts: after seven or eight Stools, which I had in less than an Hour and a half, I found my self so feeble and dispirited, that I could keep up no longer, and was ready to Swoon away. I sent for the first Physician that was to be had, and begg'd of him to stop my Flux; but he told me, that it was against all Rules of Art, to give Restringtons, before the Cause was removed, and hearing that I understood *Latin*, said, (f) *Evacuanda sunt excrementa occasionem subministrantia*, I'll order you a gentle Laxative. As soon as he had said this he sat down, and prescrib'd; then took his Fee, and went away. His Bill was nothing else but the *Decoctum Sennæ Geronis*, and Syrup of *Rhubarb*, but seeing at the bottom, (g) *Misce, fiat potio purgans*, and feeling my Strength quite spent, I was afraid that I should never be able to go through it, and yet thought that something had to be done very suddenly. Whilst I was in this Perplexity, comes into the Room an honest Gentleman, that Lodg'd in the same House as I did, to whom the night before I had

^a *Tenacious Flegm.*

^b *Over and above.*

^c *Concoctive Faculty.*

^d *With a spare Diet.*

^e *Waters are best drank from the Spring itself.*

^f *The Excrements that are the Occasion of it are to be expell'd.*

^g *Mix it and make a purging Potion.*

related the Course I had taken; having ask'd me, how I did, and look'd first upon the Bill, and then upon me, he flings it away in a Passion and says, "Pox on their Purging; I think they have done that sufficiently already; if you'll be ruled by me, I'll be hang'd if I don't set you to rights before Night:" Not hearing me make him any answer, he took my Silence for Consent, and immediately call'd for a Bottle of *French* Claret, which he ordered to be burnt with good store of Cinnamon, Cloves and Mace, and a pretty deal of Orange-Peel. Whilst this was a-boiling he sent for some Syrup of Quinces to sweeten it, and when it was ready, made me take half a Pint of it, with a very brown Toast well rubb'd with Nutmeg, and sup it off as hot as I was able to bear it; an Hour after I repeated the same Dose, and two hours after that I took another. It is not to be express'd, what sudden Benefit I receiv'd from this plain and palatable Medicine: At the very taking of the first Dose, I felt my Spirits reviv'd,²¹ and every Limb seem'd to recover Strength; the second check'd my Looseness; and by the third the Pain of my Stomach was quite taken off: Three or Four Hours after, my Appetite return'd, I ate half a Chicken for my Supper, and Slept admirably well all the Night long: I stay'd at *Epsom* about a Month longer, but did not meddle any more with the Waters; thinking I had learn'd by dear-bought Experience, (a) *frigidam non magis mederi doloribus Stomachi quam oleum extinguere incendium*, as *Erasmus* had said so many Years before me; and by the help of a wholesome and nourishing Diet, gentle Exercise, and the moderate use of the best Claret I could buy, I found my self perfectly well in a little time, tho' I never again recover'd that Strength and Vigour, which before the unmerciful Bleeding and Purging I had been possess'd of.

Being come back to *London*, I continued in tolerable Health for several Months, the only thing I complained of was the Old Distemper; the Grumbling in my Bowels; that, as my Appetite increas'd, return'd by degrees, and at last disturb'd me both Full and Fasting; yet for a Year and a half or near two Years I did little or nothing to it, and bore the inconveniency of it with a great deal of Patience, because from what I had undergone once, I was as much afraid of Physick, as a Child of being whipt; till by Over-persuasion of my Wife, I again consulted one of the most Noted Physicians about Town. I told him everything I knew of my self, and left out nothing of what I have said now. The Gentleman, I speak of, was of the Modern Opinion, and when I had done, Ridicul'd very much the Method after which I had been treated: He told me; that the Heat of my Liver, the Coldness of my Stomach, and the *Spleen* being a *fomes ventriculi*,²² were all Fopperies alike; (b) *subterfugia*, as he call'd them, *ignorantiae*, Figments, that had never had any existence, but in the Brains of their Inventors; good for nothing, but to shew the small Knowledge they had in Anatomy: As to *Galen* himself, that he had been a Conceited Busie-body, that

^a *Cold Water is as improper to cure Pain in the Stomach, as Oyl is to quench Fire.*

[Mandeville is here rephrasing Erasmus' text. See *Colloquies* (coll. xxxix, "The Pilgrimage"): "*Si frigida medetur doloribus capitis et stomachi, posthac et oleum extinguet incendium*" (If cold Water will cure Pains in the Head and Stomach, in Time Oil will quench Fire.)]

^b *Evasions proceeding from Ignorance.*

(a) *anili garrulitate plenus*, had foul'd abundance of Paper to no purpose, that he left us nothing of any Value or Certainty, but what he had been oblig'd for to *Quintus* the *Empirick*, who had been his Master; and that how Magisterially soever he had determined (b) *de usu partium*, he never had seen a Human Body open'd in his Life. As a Lover of Antiquity, I was at first very much Scandaliz'd at these Expressions, but when he began to discourse about my Distemper, the Reasons he gave for the Cause of it, were so agreeable, the Hypothesis, by which he solv'd every Symptom so easie, the Indication for the Cure seem'd so naturally to flow from it, and whatever he said was so Intelligible, that I was presently reconcil'd with, and conceived a great Esteem for him. He told me, that the Part affected was indeed the Stomach; but that it was a vulgar Error, to think, that there was great heat required for the Concoction of our Food, since in some Creatures it was altogether perform'd without, as was evident in Fishes, in whom there was not so much as any perceptible Warmth; yet, said he, by feeding on their own Species, and swallowing one another, it is plain, that, Bones and all, they digest whole Bodies, sometimes half as big as themselves, without the help of chewing, and consequently are endued with a stronger Concoction than other Animals: He made me sensible; first, that the Aliment in every Creature was digested and dissolv'd by means of a certain adapted *Menstruum*, that by insinuating itself into the Pores was able to break the contexture of it: Secondly, that this *Menstruum* did not act by any *Muscular* or other *Organick* Force, but an *Intestine* motion not unlike that of Yest, or Leaven in Dough, from which Analogy in the Operation it had received the same name in *Latin*, and was call'd a *Ferment*: Thirdly, that on the various faults of this *Ferment* all manner of Indigestions depended. I was pleas'd with the clear Idea I had of my Condition, [thought my self (c) *ex Umbra in Solem*,] and hasten'd with Alacrity to the rational method, which he propos'd to put me in.²³

The first thing I was to do, was to take an *Emetick* Potion or two, to discharge the Viscid (d) *Saburra*, that oppress'd my Stomach; then with *Chalybeats* and other powerful *Alcalicks* to subdue the fix'd *Acid Salts*, and with *Carminatives* and *Specifick Stomachicks*, mix'd with *Volatile Salts*, endeavour to Meliorate, and if possible restore the *Ferment* to its Pristine State.²⁴ I shall not trouble you with the particulars of what I took, but content my self with telling you, that his Medicines were as well chosen, as his Method was just, and the Success to my thinking answerable to both; for in less than a Fortnight all the Symptoms remitted, and after three Weeks I had nothing left to complain of: I did not leave off suddenly, but persever'd for a considerable time in the use of his Prescriptions, and remain'd well, as long as I continued the Medicines; but imagining my self Cured, I no sooner ceas'd taking, but my Distemper return'd even faster than it had abated before. Presently I had recourse to the same Remedies, and was again reliev'd, but no longer than I took

^a *Being an eternal Talker.*

^b *Concerning the Use of Parts.*

[Mandeville is here referring to Galen's *De Usu Partium corporis humani*.]

^c *A proverb. From Darkness into Light.*

^d *A Load.*

them: And after this manner for a great while, I was always either plagued with the Distemper, or the taking of Physick, which I thought almost as bad; till at last it grew so stubborn, that the same Remedies, that had done me so much good before, became utterly ineffectual; this made me very Melancholick, and, what vex'd me most, was that my Physician, in whom I so much confided, began to neglect and slight me; tho' in less than a Twelve-month he had received above a Hundred *Guineas* in Fees of me; which in a *Chronick* Disease, where the same Remedies are of some time continued, and no constant Attendance is required, is pretty considerable. When neither his former Prescriptions, nor the various Changes he made in them could Ease me, and all his plausible Reasons for altering them were quite exhausted, I perceived, that he grew perfectly weary of me. I could now but seldom see him; when he came he was always in haste, and all the Comfort I got from him was, that he either found some fault with my Diet, or manner of living; or else charged me with omitting what he had ordered; till at last being Conscious that I had never been more regular and observant, I told him my Thoughts; at which pretending to be offended he took the opportunity of picking a Quarrel, [and left me in a Pet.

(a)——*fugit improbus, ac me*
Sub cultro liquit——]

And never since, tho' often desired, utterly refused to see me any more. (b) *Ingravescente malo*, I applied my self to another—But I have tired you so much already, and am sensible, it is unpardonable to trespass so unreasonably upon any Man's good-nature, and desire him to listen to so tedious a Tale.

Phil. Your Story is so diverting, that I take abundance of delight in it, and your Ingenious way of telling it, gives me a greater insight into your distemper, than you imagine: Wherefore, let me beg of you to go on, Sir: I am all Attention, and shall not interrupt you.

Misom. Being, as I told you, abandon'd by my Physician, I went to another; and after that to two or three more, without following any of their Prescriptions. I could never hear Bleeding and Purging proposed to me, without reflecting on what my old *Galenist* had made me suffer before; and all the Remedies I took for some time, were only what I pick'd out of the old *Recipe's* of him I used last: For making now and then a review over the Bills he writ for me, I recollected what things had eas'd me the latest, and chose from among them what Mr. Apothecary and my self thought fittest for my purpose. I knew by Experience, that nothing of what he had prescrib'd, though it ceas'd working to the same ends, would ever discompose me: This made me value his Prescriptions as much, as I had esteemed his Parts before: Nay, the loss of him so much affected me, that I often thought I could willingly have given him triple Fees, [and received him (c) *obviis ulnis*,] if he would only have kept his

^a Taken from Horace. But the latter part is a Proverb for leaving a Man in the Lurch.

[Horace, *Satires*: Book I, sat. 9 "A Nuisance": "The rascal flees/Leaving me under the knife."]

^b My Distemper encreasing.

^c A proverb. With open Arms.

Temper, and invented new Reasons to sooth my Fancy, tho' he had done nothing to my Disease. But I had almost forgot to tell you, that ever since the Burnt-Claret cured me of my (a) *Lienteria* at *Epsom*, I had a mind to Study Physick; that, if I could get no benefit from, I might at least enter into the Fallacies of, so treacherous and insignificant an Art.

But being besotted to the Ancients, I began very immethodically. For above two Years together I read *Hippocrates*, *Celius*, *Aurelianus*, *Areteus*, *Galen*, *Celsus*, and several other Volumes of *Greek* and *Roman* Authors without any great advancement as to knowledge, till being acquainted with the Physician I lately mention'd, I was put in a better way, went first thro' two or three Modern Anatomists, and slipt no opportunity of seeing publick Dissections, not forgetting in the mean time *Harvæus* (b) *de Generatione* and *Borellus* (c) *de motu Animalium*, with some others, that made me understand the Economy as well as the Structure of the Body. Having laid this foundation, I read with great Avidity the inventive *Sylvius de le Boe*, and faithful *Etmuller*, and of our own Nation the Speculative *Willis*, and practical *Sydenham*.

I had finish'd my course of Anatomy, and was just entr'd upon the Authors I have named, when fearful of committing my Carcass to new Physicians, I made use, as I told you, of nothing but the Prescriptions of the old one, that had forsaken me. To these I stuck for above half a Year; but at that time, when as I remember I was newly enter'd into my Forty fourth Year, worse Symptoms starting every Day, my Illness visibly encreas'd; for besides the unsavory Belchings, and continual Croaking (d) *Borborigmi*, the (e) *Phlogoses* all over, and the gnawing Pain, as well as distension of my Stomach, which were become almost habitual to me, I frequently had strong Pulsations and cruel Thumpings in my Belly, especially in the left side of it: I often Vomited presently after Meals, tho' commonly I eat voraciously, and had almost a *Canine* Appetite: I had a pricking and sometimes shooting pains in my Bowels, in which likewise I often felt Tensions, Snatchings, and Convulsive pullings: The same I had now and then in my Navel, as if part of my Belly had been drawn downward: At sometimes I had oppressions at my Heart, and great Squeezings of the (f) *Præcordia*, that lasted a whole Day; and again at others I had for two or three days together strange torments in my Back and Belly, that resembled Cholick and Nephritick Pains; the same I often had in my Stomach; and I have thought more than once, that within my Trunk and all the noble (g) *Viscera* it contains, I felt the same,

^aThat sort of Looseness when the Food comes away undigested.

^bOf Generation.

[William Harvey, *Exercitationes de generatione Animalium* (Amsterdam, Ludovicus Elzevir, 1651).]

^cOf the Motion of Animals.

[Giovanni Borelli, *De Motu animalium*, 2 vol. (Rome, A. Bernabo, 1680–81).]

^dWinds in the Bowels that make great noise.

^eFlushes.

^fThat Part of the Breast that is about the Heart.

^gEntrails.

that those who are afflicted with the (a) *Arthritis vaga*, complain of in the Joints of their Limbs, and the Outsides of them.

Till I was Eight or Nine and Thirty my Body had always been Lubrick, and I had seldom less than Two Stools in Four and Twenty Hours; but then this good quality left me by degrees, and when I was One and Forty I hardly had one: Till growing still (b) *Constipatoris alvi*, I came to be often bound for two or three Days together; yet the Costiveness I speak of had hitherto given me little or no disturbance; because gentle *Laxatives*, especially those that are proper in *Tensions*, which you call *Chalastica*, had seldom fail'd of removing it; but now it began to be what I dreaded most; because Nature would hearken no longer to those easie Medicines, and all (c) *Eccoprotica* were ineffectual; besides that, (d) *ventre clauso*, the then reigning Symptoms (e) *incrudescebant* visibly; I say the then reigning; because I never was without three or four of those, I have mention'd; or else if they remitted, and I was pretty easie in my Belly and (f) *Thorax*, instead of them I had violent Head-achs, which till I was Three and Forty I never had been troubled with: These Pains commonly were succeeded with (g) *vertigo's*, and I often stagger'd as if I had been Drunk, especially if I look'd up hastily, or made any other quick motion of a sudden. The clear Water I used to fetch off my Stomach in the Morning, which was one of the earliest Symptoms I complain'd of, upon my taking of Tobacco had left me, and I had not observ'd it for two or three Years; but in the room of it there was by degrees come upon me a continual Spitting, which was always worse, when I was most constipated: but yet, what I wonder'd at never made me dry. [My Urine often changed both in Colour and Thickness; and tho' most commonly it was wheyish and turbid, yet sometimes all of a sudden it would be as thin and limpid as fair Water, which it exactly resembled not only in the look but likewise in taste and smell; this clear sort of Urine I have often made ever since I was two or three and forty; and when I do make it, it is always in large Quantities, a pint or more at a time very unaccountably; tho' of late Years I have observed, or at least I fancy so, that this oftener happens after a hurry of the Spirits, when something has vex'd, surpris'd, or otherwise disturb'd me, than at any other Time.]²⁵

When the Disease was got up into my Head, even tho' the Pain was tolerable, I always was plagued with severe watchings, and lay tossing whole Nights in a thousand fears and anxieties; without closing my Eyes; or if I did, I either dream'd of being Robb'd, or attempted to be Murder'd, or else falling from a Precipice, Drowning, or being Hang'd. [Sure *Dido* had something of my Distemper.

Anna Soror, quæ me suspensam insomnia terrent?]²⁶

^a *The Flying Gout.*

^b *More Costive.*

^c *Laxatives that only expel the Contents of the Intestines.*

^d *My Body being shut up.*

^e *Grew worse.*

^f *The Chest and all that Cavity in which the Heart and Lungs are contain'd.*

^g *Swimming in the Head.*

The sleeps I had were ever disturb'd, and wearied instead of reviving me; I generally wak'd out of 'em in a fright, and often in cold Sweats. When these disorders in (a) *ipsa arce, & sede animæ*, had lasted for some time, strange roving thoughts would slide through my Brain, and wild as well as ridiculous Fancies stole upon me, and for a while employ'd my Imagination. I had often unaccountable apprehensions of things, which, tho' one moment I thought 'em absurd, I could hardly conquer the next with all my strength of Reason. When I was a Minute at quiet and had leisure to reflect upon the misery of my Condition, I was touch'd with an unspeakable concern, to think that the cruel Distemper had now likewise invaded my Soul, as before it had tyranniz'd over my Body only. These disturbances in my Head I seldom fail'd of, whenever I was more than ordinary Costive, which I was sure to be, if I neglected Purging; for sometimes in a Month or six Weeks, I have had no Stools, but what were provok'd by strong (b) *Catharticks*, that by causing great *Tensions* in my Bowels, first tortured me in the working, and afterwards by benumbing the *Fibres* of the *Instestina*, left my Body more Pertinaciously shut up, than they found it.

If ever I voided any thing naturally, (I mean without taking Physick) it was always blackish, and hard; and no Excrements came away, but with long straining and violent Pain. This often brought the *Hemorrhoids* upon me; but they were the internal, (c) *cæcæ, & furentes*. Think not that I bore all this without seeking out for new Remedies: Sometimes I sent for two or three Physicians at a time; when any of the Pains, I have mention'd, were excessive, I try'd every thing, that was told me: Such a [(d) *lerna malorum* and] (e) *Syndrome* of Evils made me weary of my Life; and when the Symptoms began to be urgent, all my former dread against Physick was vanish'd. [Then came into my head; (f) & *post malam Segetem serendum est*. And, *post naufragium maria tentantur*, with twenty other sayings to the same Purpose.] 'Tis incredible what Prescriptions I have submitted to, and what nauseous loads I have taken in vain; not but that I had relief by some Medicines, but none in above two Years, that was of any duration. I have been tolerably well for a Week, and perhaps continued a Fortnight without being very ill, but this was the most, and if I was a whole Day together at ease, I thought my self in Heaven; till after having been extremely bad for Ten Days without so much as any remission, of a sudden, by a very Copious Flux of the *Hemorrhoids*, which had never run before, I was wonderfully reliev'd; whilst this Flux lasted I mended every Hour, at a Week's end I was almost perfectly well, without relapsing when it stopt: This happen'd in the Spring, and was Nine Years ago, last *April*.

^a *The Castle itself and the Seat of the Soul.*

^b *Violent Purges.*

^c *Blind and raging. Epithets commonly applied to the inward Piles, when they are very painful and don't run.*

^d *A Proverb for a multitude of Evils.*

^e *A Complication.*

^f *We must sow again even after a bad Harvest. And, Men go to sea again tho' they have been Shipwrack'd.*

I remain'd in tolerable Health all the succeeding Summer, and, to prevent the return of my Distemper, I went through a Steel Course,²⁷ and after that to the *Bath*, where I drank the hot Waters the whole *Autumn* Season; and using much Exercise, especially Riding, I continu'd very well: But this was the longest intermission I ever had, since my Distemper came to the height, to this Day. By that time I had been a few Weeks return'd from the *Bath*, and Winter was come, I grew worse again; but as the Summer before had been more favourable to me, than any I have liv'd after it, so that was the easiest Winter I have had ever since. The next Summer was indifferent, had some sharp rubs, but they were of no long continuance, and sometimes I was pretty well for a Month; at the latter end of it I observ'd, that the Weather began to have a great influence upon me: the Winter that succeeded it I was very ill, and at times as bad as ever. Thus have I continued much after the same rate rising and falling for these Seven Years last past, of which the greatest part I have been ill, sometimes indifferent, very rarely well, but often extremely bad; so that if I live till *October* next I shall have been twelve Years, reckoning from the beginning of my Forty Fourth, an (a) *Hypocondriacus Confirmatus*. When I am at best I am a Crazy *Valetudinarian*, always forced to observe so strict a regularity in all my Conduct, as well as my Diet, and so nicely circumspect in every thing I do, that I can never enjoy even that small Portion of Health, that falls to my share, and I so seldom am bless'd with: The least Trespass, nay the least Oversight, draws on me the worst of Symptoms, being always obliged either to fight against, or else labour under my Distemper, which makes my Life as miserable, as my Constitution.

As to the Remedies I have made use of the greatest part of that time, whether the Effect has been good or bad, I am as much beholden for what I know of 'em to the Dead as I am to the Living; for tho' the increase of my Distemper soon after my Forty Third Year would not for a great while allow me to read much, or follow any thing of either Business or Diversion; yet after that violent long Illness, I never had any, that without intermission lasted for six Months together; and improving every interval of Ease I have since studied Physick with as much application, as my Strength would permit me. Having gone through the Practical Authors, with which, as I told you, I began, I went over to *Fernelius*, *Sennertus*, *Jacotius*, *Salius*, *Varandæus*, *Zecchius*, *Thomas a Veiga*, *Riverius*, *Forestus*, and several others of the first rank among the Learned: After them I consulted those, that had found fault with others, as *Cardan*, *Sanctorius*, the Voluminous *Mercatus*, *Ferreri*, &c. not forgetting the excellent Cautions of *Ballonius*, or the Animadversions of the Learned *Septalius*: I carefully examin'd every body, that had any ways dwell'd upon my Distemper, especially *Claudinus*, *Agricola*, *Martini*, *Wedelius*, *Hartmannus*, *Matthiolus*, *Doringius*, *Rhodius*, *Petræus*, *Fischerus*, and both those lower Shelves: Seeing that the (b) *Neoterici* often confounded the *malum Hypocondriacum* with the Scurvy, I likewise read the most valuable of all those that had purposely writ of the latter; as *Drawisius*, *Horstius*, *Eugalenus*, *Reusnerus*, *Lindanus*, &c.

^aA confirm'd *Hypocondriac*.

^bThe *Moderns*.

As to Medicines and Prescriptions, I have run over most of the *Pharmacopæa*'s, that are extant, especially the *Augustana*, with *Zwelferus* that Corrected it; I have read *Schroderus*, *Morellus*, *Quercetanus*, & (a) *instar omnium*, the *Sylva Medica* of *Waltherus*: But how small is the Reward for the Drudgery of going through so many Voluminous Authors, when the only Benefit I have reapt from my Labour, and the upshot of all my Studies in Physick, is, that I know it to be a deceitful Art, that is never to be relied on! for if we consider, how strangely the greatest Physicians have disagreed in the most essential Points of their Art, the multitude of Opinions, Sects, and Factions, that have been among them; their hatred, animosities, and ridiculing of one another. (b) *Profecto non sine nota Galenus transeat quin risu excipiat*ur, says *van Helmont de Febribus*; If after that, we observe how various and opposite to each other their Hypotheses have been, on which they have built all the rest, how precarious the best of them are, and yet how strenuously they have all been defended by their several Authors, and those that adhered to them, every one pretending by his own System exactly to solve all *Phænomena*, and to be an uncontrollable Expounder of the Mysteries of Nature, which yet is but one; and without doubt has always been the same. If we mind how Hyperbolical their Praises, and how impudent some of their Assertions are, which they have left us upon Record, of the Use and Virtues of some Medicines, both Simple and Compound: With what seeming Candour and sometimes solemn Asseverations [those (c) *Dosones*]²⁸ profess, that they will never fail of producing the effects, which they promise of them, and yet how often they delude, or rather how seldom any of them answer the expectation of him that tries them: How much they differ in the very Seats as well as Causes of Distempers; how notoriously they contradict one another to this Day, even in the Method of Curing, which is the very End of Physick; and this not only in the same Nations, Universities and Cities, but within the hearing of the same Patients: If, I say, we consider all this, and how little their greatest quarrels are likely to be decided, we may conclude that the Art of Physick is no more to be depended upon than that of Astrology, and that even the Learned Professors of the first have rendered themselves neither less ridiculous nor more beneficial to the Publick than the ignorant Pretenders to the latter. [What I say is notoriously true: (d) *oculis ac minibus tenetur*.]

Not that I think the fault lies in the Physicians: Many are Men of Sense and Learning, whom I esteem and honour; but I am persuaded, that the Art it self is Fallacious, and really pity those, that have taken such vast pains, as the study of it requires, to so little purpose in the main. I beg your pardon, *Philopirio*, for the freedom I take with you: I speak as I think, and shall be glad to be convinced of the contrary; wherefore, before you give me your Opinion about my Distemper, if

^a *What is worth all the rest.*

^b *Let not Galen pass without Censure and being laugh'd at.*

[*Van Helmont, Opuscula medica inaudita*, "De Febribus" (Köln, Kalcoven, 1644), p. 38].

^c *A Name proverbially given to those who promise much and perform little.*

^d *A proverb: It is seen and felt.*

you'll take the trouble of shewing me that there is any Certainty in Physick, (a) *eris mihi magnus Apollo*, and I shall hearken to you with as much Attention as you have had Patience in hearing me.

Phil. That the Arrogance of Physicians in general, and the great Knowledge which they are obliged to pretend to, are deservedly censur'd, and ridicul'd by all Men of Sense, that examine into the Result of their Practice, I am [(b) *ut vineta egomet cædam mea,*] very willing to allow; but I cannot agree with you, if you would charge the truly Noble and Divine Art it self with what is only to be imputed to the Pride, Avarice or Laziness of those, that with so much Haughtiness boast themselves to be the Professors of it, when in reality they neglect and despise it.

A Young Gentleman, that understands *Latin*, takes his pleasure at some University, or other, for Six or Seven Years, in which having at his leisure Hours gone through the usual Stages of Logick, natural Philosophy, Anatomy, Botany, and perhaps Chymistry, he learns by heart all the Distempers incident to human Bodies, from Head to Foot, a few Signs by which they are known and distinguish'd from one another, and what Prognostication is commonly made upon every one of them, with the Method of Cure, and such remedies as the Author he reads is pleas'd to insert and recommend: The Gentleman thus instructed being honour'd with his Degree, which cannot be denied him, is consulted in the most difficult Cases, is ready to defend his Opinion in Mode and Figure against all Opposers, and thinks himself qualified to be Physician to the greatest Monarch in the Universe; and yet it is certain, that such a one is no more capable of discharging the weighty Office of a Physician, than a Man that should study Opticks, Proportions, and read of Painting and mixing of Colours for as many Years, would, without having ever touch'd a Pencil, be able to perform the part of a good History-Painter.

I own that the Studies I have named are necessary for all young Beginners; but they only make up the Easie, the Pleasant, the Speculative, [the Preparatory] part of Physick: The Tedious, the Difficult, but the only Useful part in regard of others, I mean the Practical, which is not attempted by many, is only attain'd by an almost everlasting Attendance on the Sick, unwearied Patience, and Judicious as well as diligent Observation.

This is the Art it self, to which all the Studies I named before are but the *Præmium*. This the (c) *Schola Coa*, and the greatest of its Members, *Hippocrates*, with some few of his Followers, profess'd; but being too severe, unpleasing and tiresome, it has been little regarded for many Ages, and it is chiefly to the Ancients that we are beholden for what we know of it. As the World grows wiser, Physicians of later times have found out more Compendious ways to Renown and Riches; By applying

^a A Proverb: *You shall be my Oracle.*

[Virgil, *The Bucolics*, Eclogue III: "Dialogue between Menalcas and Damoetas"].

^b *To prune my own Vine myself. A Proverb made use of by Men, when they accuse and don't spare themselves or their Profession.*

[Horace, *Epistle*, II, 1, "To Augustus"].

^c *The School of the Island of Cos.*

[See note 41].

themselves particularly to Anatomy, Chymistry, &c. and [by] writing of, or performing something with Accuracy in any one [only] of the Shallow auxiliary Arts, that all together compose the Theory of Physick, they know how to insinuate themselves into the Favour of the Publick; and from their giving Proofs of their understanding well one inconsiderable Branch of their Art, are stupidly believ'd to be equally skill'd in the whole. The great Anatomist that Artfully Dissects the Dead Body of a Malefactor, shall [therefore] be trusted with the live one of the Judge, till he has fitted that too for his Purpose. The witty Philosopher, who can exactly tell you which way the World was made, that one would think he must have had a hand in it, [in his Talk] cures all Diseases by Hypothesis, and frightens away the Gout with a fine Simile, but [when it comes to practice] oftener reasons a trifling Distemper into a consumption. But, says the Botanist, (a) *non verbis sed herbis*: He that by the colour and shape of Seeds can foretell what Leaves and Flowers the Plants will produce is no small Physician, and must have a great insight into the Seeds of Diseases: Being so well acquainted with the Virtues of all the Simples, he knows, without doubt, what will Cure you, if God has created it. The boasting Chymist values himself above the rest, since by force of Fire, (he'll tell you) and by his *Menstruum* he exalts the Minerals to a higher pitch of Perfection than their Soil or Climate could ever have rais'd them, and despising the Efficacy of Simples, puts Nature her self upon the rack to make her confess what medicines she has within her.

Misom. These have always look'd upon as the only valuable Branches of Physick: Why do you call them inconsiderable? Can any Man pretend to a Methodical Practice without them?

Philop. I only call them so in respect to the main Practice it self, and would by no means admit of a Physician, that should not be vers'd in them; nay I would have publick Professors, that should not only instruct others, but spend most of their Time in making new Experiments, and if possible further Discoveries in every one of those useful Arts; but I would not have People ridiculously pretend, that because they have more particularly studied and taken Pains in any one of them, they [therefore] understand the Practice of Physick: Such as are design'd for the Practical part might content themselves with learning as much of the Theory as is commonly taught in one, or at most two Courses of each Branch, and after that presently apply themselves to steady Observation, which to come to perfection in, they want above twenty Lives. If what I say seems Hyperbolical, and you would have an ample view of the Shortness of Life, in proportion to the Length of Time necessary to learn the Art, cast your Eye on the Complaint of the Divine *Hippocrates*; that prodigious Man, after he had lived so long, and made such an admirable use of his Time, was yet so Conscious, and so full of the Truth of it, that he had not the Power to begin his Aphorisms, the very Marrow and Quintessence of Practice, without disclosing it: (b) ὁ βίος βραχύς ἡ δὲ τέχνη μακρῇ. 'Tis Observation, plain Observation, without

^aA Proverb, signifying that things are not to be done by Talking, but by Medicines: In English, Not by Words but by Herbs.

^bLife is short, and the Art of great Extent.

[Hippocrates (*Aphorisms*, sect. I. 1)].

descanting or reasoning upon it, that makes the Art; and all, who neglecting this main point have strove to embellish it with the Fruits of their Brain, have but cramped and confounded it. (a) *Si excipias enim*, says a learned Author, *Paucos illos observatores, qui Casus & Historias Medicas diligenter, feliciter & ad vivum prout ab ipsa rei natura procedebant, describendo Medicinæ, pomæria summopere ampliarent; ea quæ reliqui adjecere, falsam theoriam, & hujusmodi ineptias spectantia, turbarunt potius impediveruntque illius progressus, quam indicarunt aut promoverunt*. Where shall you find a Physician now-a-days, that makes that Stay with his Patients, which it is plain the Ancients must have done, to make the noble Prognosticks we have from them? But this would not only be too laborious, but a tedious way of getting Money; Self-interest now gives better Lessons to young Physicians. If you are not extraordinary in any of the Branches I have named, rather than that you should spend your Time before the squallid Beds of poor Patients, and bear with the unsavoury Smells of a crowded Hospital, shew your self a Scholar, write a Poem, either a good one, or a long one; Compose a *Latin* Oration, or do but Translate something out of that Language with your Name to it.²⁹ If you can do none of all these, Marry into a good Family, and your Relations will help you into Practice: Or else cringe and make your court to half a dozen noted Apothecaries, promise 'em to prescribe Loads of Physick, never to forget the Melodious sound of *Bolus*,³⁰ and always to make your Bills, like the Chimes of the *Exchange*, Ring with a (b) *repetatur tertia quaque hora*: Nay, get but in favour with one that has great Business, and yours is done. Otherwise be a rigid Party-man, it is all one *Whig* or *Tory*, so you are but violent enough of either side; or if you can Chat, and be a good Companion, you may drink your self into Practice; but if you are too dull for what I have hitherto named, and in reality good for nothing, you must say little and be civil to all the World, keep a set of Coffee-Houses, observe your certain Hours, and take care you are often sent for where you are not; but tho' in those several Coffee-houses you are forced to sit idle and loiter away your Time all day long, yet when out of 'em always counterfeit a Man that is in haste, and wanted in great many Places; as for the rest, study what *Demea* said of his Brother, to be (c) *Clemens, placidus, nullius lædere, arridere omnibus*; contradict no body, never open your Lips without a Smile and give no Peace to your Hat.

Thus you may see, that there is abundance of difference between the Art of Physick and the Practice of Physicians. (d) *Non enim jam student homines, ut artis*

^aFor if you except the Few, that have stuck to Observation and by diligently describing Physical Cases and Historys to the Life, as they had them from Nature, have very much enlarged medical Knowledge; all the rest that has been added by others relating to false Theories and such like trifles, has rather confounded the Art and hindred its Progress, than it has improved or done any Service to it.

[Baglivi, *De Praxi medica*, Book I, chap. 9, I, p. 50].

^bLet it be repeated every third Hour.

^cGracious, Indulging, to say nothing that is unpleasant to hear, and smile upon every body.

[Terence, *The Adelphi*, act V, scene 4].

^dFor Men now-a-days don't so much make it their study to become expert in the Business they profess, as they do to make others pay dear for that which they do know of it, how little or much soever that may be.

quam profitentur periti fiant, sed ut suam qualemcumque peritiam aliis care vendant.

Misom. What I have study'd of Physick, I confess is only the Theoretick part, and I have no Experience, but what I have to my Cost learnt upon my self through my own Illness; [I never practis'd upon others, nor ever made (a) *in Care periculum*;] but if it be true, (b) *quod utilitate hominis nil debet esse homini antiquius*, why should any Man trouble his Head with what he could not compass, if he had twenty Lives, and which way do you judge of the Certainty of an Art that no body was ever Master of?

Phil. (c) *Ex ungue leonem*: From the lasting Truth we discover in all those Rules, that once, tho' many Ages ago, were settled by repeated and judicious Experience. Most of the *Diagnostick* signs and Predictions from every Symptom, which *Hippocrates*, *Celius Aurelianus*, and a few more *Greeks* have left us, as they are the Result of solid Observation, will continue to be faithful Guides to all that can make use of them, as long as humane Bodies and Nature it self remain. As for the Labour and Time requir'd to make a tolerable Proficient in Physick, I refer you to the Learned *Baglivi*, which being a late Author of Note, I don't question but you have seen.

Misom. I read him almost as soon as he came out; here he stands.

Phil. If what he proposes was put in practice, Physick might soon be improved, and the Rules of it in twenty or thirty Years time brought to a great Perfection.

Misom. But what University would be at the Charge of keeping so many Physicians? [(d) *Unum ad unum*, says the Proverb; but he requires more,] for I think he would have two for every Distemper, that should study nothing else all their Life-time: One to read whatever has been writ of it, and from that collect all that might be of practical use; another to be constantly near the Patient's Bed-side, and faithfully set down every Symptom, nay every Motion he discovers.

Phil. Not only so: But speaking of him, that is to attend the Sick, and considering, what he is to do, he says, (e) *aperte constat unius hominis vitam vix, ac ne vix quidem, futuram satis ad unum duntatax morbum perfecte illustrandum*. From these joint Observations he would have them draw short and distinct Conclusions by way of Aphorisms, without Art or Flourish, to serve for standing Rules in Practice, as without doubt they would be, to all Posterity. Before this is done, it is not to be expected, that one Man should understand the whole Art; which *Galen* knew very

^aA proverb used when Experiments are tried upon men of little value.

^bMan should chiefly regard what is useful to Man.

^cA Proverb. By the Claw you may know the Lion.

^dOne to one thing.

^eIt is very plain that one Man's Life should not be sufficient to take Notice and set forth what is to be known of one distemper only.

well, when he said, (a) *Cum enim unius hominis vita ad omnium inventionem sufficere nequeat longi temporis observationes historia colligit, ut ejus beneficio tanquam ex multis tot sæculorum hominibus unus efficiatur eruditissimus.*

Misom. But if the Physicians don't set about [this Task of] making Observations, with greater Application than they have done these Twelve or Fourteen Hundred Years, and we must have none to be depended upon till our Universities put *Baglivi's* Project in Execution, the (b) *homo eruditissimus* in the Practice of Physick, which *Galen* speaks of, is a good way off yet, and I believe, that our Great Grand-Children will hardly ever have the Happiness to see him.

Phil. I am afraid so too: Therefore every Physician, that would discharge his Conscience, ought to supply, as much as he can in his private Capacity, the Neglect of the Publick, and wholly apply himself to the Study of one Distemper only.

Misom. I confess; that, hearing the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Passions were the chief of your Practice, I was willing to see you for that Reason.

Phil. The study of these indeed I have chosen for my Province.

Misom. I must tell you, as *Davus* did to *Geta* in the *Phormio*: (c) *Provinciam cepisti duram.*

Phil. I own 'tis a difficult one; but [(d) *Dii facientes adjuvant*, Application makes everything easie.

Misom. It is true], (e) *Dii laboribus Omnia vendunt*: Every thing is to be conquer'd by Application [and Labour.

(f) *Perrupit Acheronta Hercules Labor;
Nil mortalibus arduum est.*]³¹

But since we are so insensibly come back to what I Ail,³² with your Leave for the present we'll have no more of Physick than as it relates to my Distemper; tho' I am mightily pleas'd with the Digression we made, and shall be very glad to hear you

^aFor as one Man's Life is not sufficient to find out every thing, so History collects the Observations that are made in great Length of Time, that by the Help of it, one at last may be made a Man of consummate Knowledge, he being as it were the Compound or Product of all the learning and Experience that the Men of so many Ages have from Time to Time been endued with.

[The first English translation of Baglivi was published in 1704: *The practice of physick, reduc'd to the ancient way of observations containing a just parallel between the wisdom and experience of the ancients and the Hypothesis's of Modern Physicians.* (London, Andrew Bell, 1704). The first quotation comes from Book II, chap. 4, III. The Galen quotation was probably also taken directly from Baglivi (Book II, chap. 4, I). It originally comes from Galen's *De Subfiguratione empirica* (chap. ix)].

^bA man of consummate Knowledge.

^cYou have undertaken a difficult Task.

[Terence, *Phormio*, Act I, scene 2].

^dThe Gods assist those that are doing. A proverb.

^eA Proverb. The Gods sell every thing for Labour.

^fBy Labour Hercules broke through Acheron: Nothing is impossible to Mortals. Horace.

[Horace, *Odes*, book I, 3: "To Virgil's ship"].

enlarge upon the same Subject at another time: You and I must be better acquainted, *Philopirio*; if your Medicines do me no good, I am sure your Company will: One thing above the rest I admire in you, and that's your Patience, which must be unaffected, because you can be gay in the Exercise of it. You can't imagine, how a pertinent lively Discourse, or any thing that is sprightly, revives my Spirits. I don't know what it is that makes me so, whether it be our talking together, the Serenity of the Air, or both; but I enjoy abundance of Pleasure, and this Moment, methinks, I am as well as ever I was in my Life: The beginning of *June* I have observed for some Years always agrees with me very well, and the long continuance we have had of fine Weather, I fancy, has done me a great deal of good; I have been easie these Eight Days, only last Night I had a pretty severe Fit of the Cholick. How strange a thing is this Distemper of mine! To be so extraordinary well between whiles, as I am now, and sometimes to be plung'd into such an Abyss of Misery, as I have often been in, both of Body and Mind; nay, I cannot think of any Part of me, that at one time or other has not been affected by it: For Months together, I have had a perpetual sounding and ringing in my Ears, that has been very troublesome; and when it lies in my Head, I have such a Dimness in my Eyes, as if I saw everything through a Mist; tho' otherwise, considering I have read much and am near Fifty Five, my Sight is very clear. When I am at the best, I can feel that the long habit of my Illness has chang'd my very Humour: Formerly I fear'd nothing, and had the Constancy of a Man: from what I have related you may gather what Temper I was of besides; but now I am full of Doubts and Fears; [(a) *Leporis vitam vivo*:] I am grown peevish and fretful, irresolute, suspicious, every thing offends me, and a Trifle puts me in a Passion. The Name of (b) *Heautontimorumenos* never was half so applicable to any one, as it is to me: I can excruciate my self for all manner of Evils, past, present, and to come. I told you the State I was in, when my Kinsman died: This, tho' it is four and twenty Years ago, often runs in my Head when I am Ill, [and makes me like one

(c) *Districtus ensis cui super impia
Cervice pendet.*—]

First I am angry with my self for having been guilty of such unparallel'd Supineness as I was; then am I oppress'd with tormenting Thoughts of what it might have brought me to, till I sweat again; and am sometimes frighten'd into such an Agony, as if all the Calamities that could have been expected from it, were in reality come upon me, and I saw my Wife and Children that Minute begging their Bread. [Sometimes when I have been out of order in bad Weather it has come into my Head, that in an Account of some remarkable things in *Virginia*, I had read some-

^a *I lead a Hare's Life. A Proverb for a life of Anxiety.*

[Desiderius Erasmus, *Adagia*, 3278. IV, III, 78 « *Leporis vita* »].

^b *One that torments or excruciates himself*. [It is also the title of a play by Terence, probably adapted from an earlier play by Menander, a Greek dramatist]

^c *Over whose impious Neck hangs a naked Sword.* Horace. *It is applied proverbially to one who thinks himself in imminent danger.*

[Horace, *Odes*, III, 1].

thing concerning the strange Influence which the Air has there upon human Bodies, and among the rest of a Gentlewoman, whose cholick-pains were observe to encrease upon the rising and coming nigher of the Clouds.³³ This I have been afraid, would in time come to be my case; and the Thoughts of it have several times put me under strange Apprehensions.] I'll give you another Instance, how unaccountably I am afflicted by mere Thoughts, and sometimes work'd upon even by (a) *non entia*.

I believe my Wife is a very honest Woman, nor have I ever had the least Reason to think the contrary; and as to my self, I never lay with any other besides her self since I had her. I have been married almost Thirty Years; and tho' before that I deserv'd it, yet I never in all my Life had *Gonorrhæa*, *Bubo*, or any other the least Venereal Symptom, and have always been very sound

(b)——*in partibus illis,*
Quas sinus abscondit,——

As *Juvenal* calls 'em: Yet it is no longer ago than last Winter, that I could not be persuaded, but that I was Pox'd to all intents and purposes, and 'twas a thousand to one but I had been Salivated; for a considerable time I was all Day long examining my Shins, and Forehead, and feeling for *Nodes* and (c) *Tophi*: the losing of my Nose, my Palate, my Eyes, and all the frightful and shameful Consequences of the Disease possess'd my Fancy for hours together, till the Horror of them entering deeper into my Soul, sometimes struck me with such unspeakable Pangs of Grief, as no Torture, or Death could ever be able to give the like. When I grew better, I found that all this had been occasion'd by reading of the *Lues*, when I began the be Ill; which has made me resolve since, never to look in any Book of Physick again, but when my Head is in very good order.³⁴

I have read and heard of Hundreds of Melancholy People, that had as many several Whimsies, and imagining themselves to be what they were not, stuck close to the Absurdities of their Fancies, when they were well in every thing else, or at least in tolerable Health: But I never was so [bad as that]. The Disturbances of my Brain are never so lasting, and as soon as they are past the height, I have always short Moments, in which, when my Soul exerts her self to the utmost of her power, I can judge of things as they really are. These lucid Intervals and continual Relapses that succeed them in the wane of a Paroxysm, are for a while not unlike the alternation of Light and Darkness, in the Spring; the latter growing still weaker and shorter, as the first encrease, till the Distemper leaves the upper Region, and my Understanding is clear'd up again. Hence I conclude, that however my Temper and Constitution are spoil'd; my Reason, even when I am at the worst, is only clouded, but not impair'd. The Consideration of this has often been a (d) *Solamen miseriæ* to me, in the midst of Pains and other Troubles. It is certainly a Comfort, tho' it is a poor one, that when I compare what I am now to what I was before, I find, that tho' every thing else is

^a Things that have no Existence.

^b In those parts which the Lap conceals. [Juvenal, *Satires*, IX].

^c Swelling of the Skin occasioned by the Pox.

^d A Solace of Misery.

infinitely worse, the (a) *acumen ingenii* (as much as I was ever the Master of) the (b) *Divinae particula auræ* is still the same, and my judgement rather improved.

Yet this is a Frailty of Nature. [For tho' we own our selves to be a Compound of Body as well as Soul, and the first is the only Part of the Existence of which we are sure of, yet by the words, *I* and *we*, when we speak of our selves, and mean our own persons, *Socrates* tells us in *Plato*, nothing is understood but the Soul. The Reason you'll tell me is, because mere Matter cannot think. But this is *gratis dictum*;³⁵ and tho' it has the Air of an unquestionable Axiom, yet it is built upon the falsest Supposition in the World, *viz.* That what we cannot comprehend is therefore impossible; for it could never have sprung from any other Origin, than our avow'd Incapacity of conceiving which way mere Matter should be made to think. When we have confess'd, what every body must be conscious of, that we are far from knowing all the Properties that may belong to Matter, is it, I beg of you, more easy to conceive that what is incorporeal should act upon the Body, & *vice versa*, than it is that Omnipotence should be able in such a manner to modify and dispose Matter, that without any other assistance it should produce Thought and Consciousness? Nor is it clashing with Christianity to affirm, that we consist of nothing but what is corporeal, and that Man is wholly mortal. The Resurrection of the same Person (tho' we were only corporeal) must necessarily include the Restitution of Consciousness; and our firm Reliance on such a Resurrection, fully answers whatever Religion requires of us concerning the Belief of future Rewards and Punishments. This Opinion of man's being wholly mortal, would moreover remove and utterly abolish one of the greatest Difficulties Divines have to cope with; I mean the Question of the Soul's intermediate State between Death and the Resurrection: For it is evident that the Moment this Doctrine is received, all the Disputes *de statu mortuorum*, must cease of course.³⁶ It is then neither Reason nor Religion which inspires us with the Fondness we have for the *Divinae particula Auræ*. What is it then? You'll say. I am loth to speak against my self; judge you your self of Facts. The Body of Man is thought to be of mean Descent; the animal Functions of it have a near Resemblance to the same Functions in Brutes: It is generated and born like theirs; and the difference between the Bodies of Men and those of Beasts is still less in their Decay. Death to all our Senses is the same in both; both promiscuously moulder away to the same Dust; and the Proverb, (c) *omnia idem pulvis*, tho' I would not apply it in its figurative Sense, is here literally true. The Reflection on this is mortifying; but then on the other hand, the Soul being invisible is thought to be of the highest Extraction. As the Beams of the Sun are undoubtedly derived from that glorious Luminary, so the Souls of Men are look'd upon as so many certain Emanations of the Deity. Therefore the greatest Philosophers, before Christianity as well as since, have taken up strong Resolutions to believe the Soul to be immortal; tho' some of them have own'd, at the same time, that they had no other Reason for such a Belief, than what was suggested to them by Self-love, their own eager Wishes that it might be so; and

^a *Edge of my Understanding.*

^b *Particle of Divine Emanation. Used proverbially for the Soul.*

^c *All the same Dust.*

that tho' it should not be true, they still desired to be persuaded that it was. (a) *Me vero delectat; idque primum ita esse velim; deinde etiam si non sit, mihi tamen persuaderi velim.* Oh, the unfathomable depth of human Pride!]³⁷

But I shall talk you to Death, *Philopirio*, and I can't help it; I am over-joy'd at the Health I am in; [every thing pleases me. (b)—*gratior it dies & soles melius nitent.*] 'Tis Heaven to me when I think how perfectly well I am; but then how miserable on the other side again is the Thought, of harbouring some where within me, tho' now I feel it not, a vast enormous Monster, whose Savage force may in an Instant bear down my Reason, Judgement, and all their boasted Strength before it. It is inconceivable, that when I perceive my Affliction coming upon me, I should be so sensible as I am, that the Dangers I dread, and Sorrows I foresee, are only Chimera's, mere Falsities, and nothing but the Impositions of a Distemper; and yet, as it encreases, should sink underneath the weight of it, tho' arm'd with so much Resolution against it. I know it, I resist it, yet I can't overcome it; and when it begins to be violent, I must apply to my self in sad earnest, what *Phaedria* in *Eunuchus* said on a foolish Occasion: (c) *Prudens, sciens, vivus, vidensque pereo.*

Phil. I could hearken to you with pleasure for Hours together, but I am afraid you'll weary your self: I would not have you speak with so much Spirit; you soar too high, and don't consult your Health.

Misom. I take you right, and thank you: but I find my self very well; tho' I know, that talking with so much vehemence, has discompos'd me before now; but pray don't leave me yet; for having told you everything that has occur'd to my Memory concerning my Distemper, I am now full of Expectation, to hear what you think both of that and me.

Phil. I had no thoughts of going, and am ready to give you my Sentiment upon all I have heard.

Misom. One word before you proceed. You are without doubt acquainted with all the *Hypotheses* of Note, and so am I: Wherefore, that I may understand you the better, I beg to know before-hand, whose it is you go upon in the explication of *hypochondriacism*, or else whether you have a peculiar one of your own.

Phil. Indeed, *Misomedon*, I don't make use of any.³⁸

Misom. How is that possible? Which way then can you reason about the Causes and Seat of the Distemper, or so much as solve the least of the Symptoms that attend it?

Phil. I don't pretend to reason about either the one or the other; nor did I ever strive to solve any of its Symptoms, otherwise than by endeavouring to remove them.³⁹

^a*I am delighted with it; and that first, because I would have it so: Secondly, tho' it is not so, still I desire that I may be persuaded that it is so.* Cicero.

^b*The Day goes on more agreeably, and the Sun shines with better Lustre.*

[Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, Book I, XI].

^c*I see my Ruin before hand, and I can't help knowingly to run into it.*

[Terence, *The Eunuch*, Act I, sc. 1].

Misom. Would ever Man of Learning offer to cure Distempers of that complicated difficulty, as the Hypochondriack Passion, immethodically, after the manner of Ignorant Quacks! I am amaz'd at your Language, and of all the Physicians I have consulted, which are not a few, I declare, that I never had one from whom I less expected to hear what you just now said, than from your self. (a) *Quanta de spe decidi!* What! are you an *Empyrick*?

Phil. That is an odious Name, especially in *England*; but then you know that the Word is much abus'd, and that the *Empyricks* among the Physicians of all Ages have been as famous a Sect as any, that ever were distinguish'd by a Name: That the first Author of it, *Heraclion*, was a Physician of Renown, and abundance of his Followers Men of great Parts and Learning. They were of Opinion, that the Art of Physick consisted in downright Observation, and a world of Experience; and that all manner of reasoning about the Causes of Distempers, and being Witty in deducing the Symptoms from 'em, were very insignificant toward curing People that were sick: So far I am an *Empyrick*: But then there are several things said of 'em, that are worse; as their denying, that the Knowledge of natural things,⁴⁰ and the Body itself, were any ways material to the Profession, and that their Experience, (as an Author that Preaches very much for Moderation among Physicians calls it) was (b) mere *Stupida, non repetita, casu non ductu inventa, & prorsus Circumforanea*. Here I should differ from them; but these Things are partially writ.

Misom. Why so?

Phil. First, because it is Nonsense, (saving that great Man's favour) to say, they were all for Experience, and at the same time not for repeated Experience: Secondly, because it is inconsistent with the Character of Men of Sense, which 'tis own'd some of them were, that they should have no manner of thought or forecast in the Application of their Experience, whether they had been Physicians or not; for at that rate, if they had given any thing with Success to a strong Man of Thirty, in a Fever of only one Day's standing, it must follow, that either they would have given the same (I speak of the Dose as well as the Medicine) to a weakly Child of two Years Old, that had been in a Fever for Ten Days together; or else, if they stuck so close to their Experience, never administered the same Medicine again, till they had met with another strong Patient of Thirty, agreeing in every Circumstance with the former.

There is no Medium; if what is said of them be literally true; and if it be not, as I don't think it is, we can't tell how far the account of their Opinion is strain'd, or how much they have been abused. What is deliver'd to us concerning them ought justly to be suspected, because it comes all from their profess'd Enemies, and chiefly from

^a *What vast Hopes have I fallen from! A proverb.*

[Terence, *Heauton Timorumenos*, Act IV, scene 8].

^b *Altogether stupid, not repeated, acquired by Chance not with Design, and entirely such as that of our Mountbanks.*

[The author in question is Giorgio Baglivi. See *De Praxi medica*, Book I, chap. II, VII].

Galen, the most inveterate of 'em all, as is plain throughout his Works. So much for the *Empyricks*.

As for curing Distempers immethodically; since it is equivocal, I must tell you in the first place, that I am none of the Sect call'd the *Methodici*, headed by *Thessalus Thessalicus*, tho' I am far from approving of every thing that *Galen* has writ against them. Secondly, if by Method you mean a certain Rule (a) *a quo deviare piaculum est*, and ask me, whether I have a constant Theory, by which I am always directed in the Cure, I still answer in the Negative: But if now you put the question, whether Men of Learning were ever of this Opinion? I answer, Yes; and not to name *Paracelsus*, *Van Helmont*, *Bontekoe*, *Craane*, and a great many that you might tell me you would shut out for Wranglers, as they were; I must put you in mind, that neither *Hippocrates* himself, nor the *Coan*, *Cnidian*, or other schools, nor any of the Physicians of Old *Greece*, which without dispute were the best that ever the World could boast of, follow'd any Theory, or what you call Method at all;⁴¹ and if you think it a Mystery how they could do without, *Baglivi* will unfold it to you; who, speaking of the Difference between the Modern Physicians, and those I named, has these Words (b) *quod vos per leges Theoriæ, id illi sola mentis perspicacitate, longo usu Confirmata peragebant*; which was worth all the Theories on Earth.

Misom. But don't think it Prudence for every body to follow the Steps of those prodigious Men, unless they were likewise of their great *Genius* and Sagacity, as well as laborious and indefatigable Temper; that vast stock of Observations, it is probable they had, without any Coherence or Disposition of them into Classes, would make no small Confusion in an ordinary Man's Brains. Order helps Memory, and even an indifferent Theory must ease a Physician in his Practice; and the Art of Physick, which you complain your self is too great a task for one Man, would be still more difficult without some such help.

Phil. As to general Practice, or the whole body of the Arts, there is no dispute but all the Distempers incident to human Bodies ought to be set down distinctly, and the Observations rang'd under the several Heads they belong to. But with your leave, this is not the Point in Question: As much Order as you please: What I am against, is, the Speculative part of Physick, as it is distinct from the Practical, that teaches Men to cure all manner of Distempers in their Closets, without ever seeing a Patient; 'tis this Product of fertile Brains and luxuriant Fancies, the early Ancients knew nothing of. *Jevain*, an *Arabian*, was the first that made the Distinction; for which an honest Physician of the same Country has since claw'd him off, as he deserv'd, as may be seen in *Averrhoes*.⁴² Believe me, *Misomedon*, 'tis all a Cheat; it is the Observations, and not Reasons, that constitute the Art; and the latter are no more necessary to Physicians, than false Lights to Shop-keepers, which we know are only contriv'd to make their Goods look the better.

^a Which it would be a Crime to deviate from.

^b What we do by the Rules of Theory, they performed by nothing but their own Sagacity strengthened by long Use.

[*Baglivi*, *De Praxi medica*, Book I, chap. II, VI].

Misom. I don't deny the Necessity of Observations, but you shall never persuade me, that the Multitude of Observations, (which the more they are, the greater you own is the Practitioner's Certainty) can ever hinder him from giving a Reason for what he does.

Phil. [Whilst a Man's Observations are only made on things of known Appellations, and are not extended to Particles, Properties or Figures, for which there are no Names ready coined, you are in the right; but a curious Observer learns in time to distinguish, between things that very nearly resemble one another, have the same name, and seem to those who are less acquainted with them not to differ at all. Now if you please to consider, that there are no Words in any Language for a hundredth part of all the minute Differences in many things that yet are obvious and easily perceptible to the Skillful, you will soon find, that a Man may know a thing perfectly well, and at the same time not be able to tell you, why, or how he comes to know it. What a Variety of different Hues there is in the several Mixtures, that all come under the Denomination of Cloth-colour, and have no other Name: Therefore to come at such or such a particular, you must shew a Pattern, or else you can never make your self intelligible. The practical Knowledge of a Physician, or at least the most considerable Part of it, is the Result of a large Collection of Observations, that have been made not only on the *Minutiae* of things in human Bodies both in Health and Sickness, but likewise on such Changes and Differences in those *Minutiae*, as no Language can express; and when a man has no other Reason for what he does than the Dictates arising from the Observations he has collected, it is impossible that he can give you the one without the other; that is, he can never explain his reasons to you, unless he could likewise communicate to you that Collection of Observations, of which his Skill is the Product.]⁴³ As for Example: whilst your Servant went to tell you, I was come, I saw in your Parlour a Head of *Van Dike's*, which I would swear to, is an Original: But should any body, especially one that had no skill in Painting, ask me, why I should be so positive, when it might be a Copy, that was very well done, and like it, and I was either to give him an intelligible Reason, why I knew this from any Copy that could be made, (which yet is very true,) or else to be hang'd; I must die like a Fool.

Misom. I confess I never heard better Reasons, to avoid giving any, in all my Life.

Phil. You are witty upon me: But remember, what you said your self not a quarter of an Hour ago, when you reflected on Men's Opinion of the Soul.⁴⁴ 'Tis certainly Pride, that makes us so fond of the Idol Reason, but it is an unaccountable dotage, that we should hug it so close, as to let it slip, and still continue the same love to the shadow and bare appearance of it. Reason, like Truth, is single, and therefore ought to have a solid and unshakable Foundation; nothing, which has a bare Supposition for its Basis, can deserve the Name; and whatever Consequences are drawn from an Uncertainty, tho' they may be good Logick, and perhaps witty Arguments, yet cannot be call'd Reasons. In the time of *Galen*, who was bred an Empyrick and the Pupil of a very great Master, the eminent Physicians were honest pains-taking Drudges, that watching almost Day and Night by their Patients Bed-sides, stuck close to Observations, and minded nothing, but how to Cure those that were committed to their Care, without a thought of pleasing any other way.

[*Misom.* (a) *O domus Anti, quam dispari domino dominaris!*

Phil.] This made Physick a very Austere Study, as well as Mysterious to all the World besides; and consequently the reason of what was done to the Sick was as unintelligible to the most Subtile Philosopher, as it was to the greatest Clown. *Galen* himself, a Man of very great Sense, and no less Pride, having entertain'd the Ambition of raising himself above any of his Contemporaries, foresaw, that to exceed the most skillful of them in real Knowledge, would be a very difficult task, if not impossible, and at best a tedious work of endless Labour: He was well acquainted with the state of Physick and the Palate of this *Garrulous Age*, and found, that nothing would sooner or easier establish his Reputation, than his Wit: Accordingly he left the Observations to them that liked them, and fell a writing fine Language in a florid Style. He told the World that Physick was a rational Art, that they were Beetle-headed Fellows, that could not make it intelligible, and presently gives them Reasons, such as they were, for every individual thing he could think on. This took wonderfully with the People of those Days. Seeing his Reasons were so well accepted, he writ on and stuck at nothing; where his own Wit could not help him out, he borrow'd of others: His *Materia Medica* he took from *Dioscorides*, without so much as naming his Name: Where he had his Anatomy I don't know, but *Vesalius*, a great Anatomist, proves from his Blunders in no less than 106 places, that he never saw Inside a human Body: And yet he assign'd every part its Office with as little Hesitation, as if he had made them, or been set over them as *Major domo*. This was the beginning of People's reasoning about Physick, [from Speculation and Probability;] and the cause of all the *Hypotheses* we have had since, the best of which will be always defective and full of Error.

Misom. From what you first said of the *Arabian*, that divided the Art into Speculative and Practical, and now of *Galen*, whom I know to have writ with abundance of heat against the Empyricks, Methodists, &c. I find you would infer, that the Physicians did not begin to reason about Physick, and make Hypotheses, because they thought that what they writ was true, and would be of service to their Posterity in curing the Sick; but to ingratiate themselves with the Ages they lived in; and that they did not so much find fault with others, to have things mended, as to establish their own Reputations upon the Ruins of those they overthrew.

Phil. I would so; but above all, to avoid the unwholesome, as well as tiresome Office of being perpetually near the Bedside, to observe every Motion the Patient makes, so unavoidable to a Man, that would be skill'd (b) *in morbis acutis*. This must have been a miserable Confinement, I own; as I do likewise, that it has been none of the least Motives, that made me chiefly apply my self to a Chronick Disease, where the Attendance should be neither so constant, nor so unpleasant.

^a *Oh House of Antius, how unlike is the Lord by whom you are governed now, to him who governed you before! A Proverb used, when matters are worse managed by those, who have the Administration of them, than they were formerly.*

[Desiderius Erasmus, *Adagia*, 3665. IV, VII, 65].

^b *In acute Diseases.*

Misom. An Ingenuous Confession: For which I don't like you the worse. But if every Patient had a Physician to himself, they must have had abundance of them; yet considering, that among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, the People of any Quality always kept them in their Families, and that many of their Slaves were brought up in that Art; I don't wonder so much at that, as I do, which Way they got their Experience, when they stay'd so long with one Patient, and often throughout the whole course of his Illness. They could see but a few.

Phil. When they had done with one, they went to another, and were never idle: The strictness of Observation which they were obliged to, was whilst they learn'd their Art, tho' that was the greatest part of their Lives; and those that lived in Rich People's Families were generally the Disciples of some chief Physician, that taught them their Business. A Man would have been laugh'd at in those Days, that would have pretended to practice Physick of his own Head, before he was near Threescore, or at least above Fifty Years of Age: Till then they only follow'd the Directions of their Masters, and serv'd the Sick much after the manner of our Nurses: But such as had undergone, and happen'd to out-live the Fatigues of this severe Discipline were had in great Veneration, and almost ador'd, when once they set up for themselves; For then they came to be Masters in their turns, and not only visited the Sick, but likewise took an Opportunity of instructing their Scholars, from the Cases they had in Hand; as the practical Professors of Foreign Universities now teach their Students in the Hospitals.⁴⁵

Misom. Knowing, *Philopirio*, by my own reading, that the most of what you say is true, I begin to be somewhat of your Opinion, and am apt to think, that the Art it self may yield some very good Rules when it is well cultivated, and that the diligent and humble Observers of Nature, [always (a) *eandem incudem tundendo*,] knew abundantly more of it, than all the lazy and proud Expounders of it, that have ridicul'd 'em since.—I see 'tis past Seven, and I always sup half an Hour after, so that now I shall no have time to hear from you, what I would be satisfied in; but I can't blame you for that, since my own talkative Humour and Impertinence in asking you so many other Questions, have been only in fault; yet as our Entertainment has been very pleasing to me, I won't repent, but only desire you to come again to-morrow about the same Hour: (b) *de tuo nil decidet*, *Philopirio*; what Time I make you lose, shall be at my Charge, [(c) *non sum cumini Sector*,] and you'll never find me stingy, when I am troublesome.

Phil. If you are pleased, I have past my Time very agreeably.

Misom. But don't go yet, if you are not in haste: When they are ready below, I shall have my Man come up to me: if you can stay a quarter of an Hour longer, your Company will oblige me.

Phil. With all my Heart; half an Hour, if you please.

^a By beating upon the same Anvil. A Proverb: Applied to Perseverance in any Business.

^b You shall be no loser. A Proverb.

^c I am not stingy. A proverb. *Cumini Sector* is the same in Latin, as one that will skin a Flint is in English.

Misom. You are a Man after my own Heart. I shall have a good Opinion of Physick at last; and so far I promise you, that I am your Convert already, that henceforth I'll judge no more of a Physician's Skill from his having a very good Theory, than from his Fencing well I would of his Courage: For curing the Sick in reality, is Fighting; when doing it in Speculation is no more than Fencing.

Phil. I won't allow it to be so much, unless you mean such Fencing, as Squire *Bickertstaffe's* against the Wall; and then I like your *Simile*: For as the old gentleman pushing either in *Tierce* or *Quart*, or what Thrust he thinks fit, never misses the Man he aims at, so these speculative Doctors, relying on one Hypothesis or other, never fail of hitting what Distemper they please; and the Comparison is the more just, because both Parties venture with equal Confidence, and meet with the same Opposition.⁴⁶

A Witty Man that can express himself in good Language, and is tolerably vers'd in the Theory of Physick, may, by the help of a well-contriv'd *Hypothesis*, find out probable Causes, floridly account for every Symptom, exactly tell you the Indications that are drawn from them, and build upon them such a rational Method of Cure, as that even Men of Sense shall applaud him, and think him an Oracle in Physick; tho' all this while he knows nothing of the Art it self.

[*Misom.* (a) *In pace Leones.*

Phil.] But carry him once to a Patient of Distinction, that is a little fearful of himself, and has newly been attack'd with only a slight Fever: Let him fairly be satisfied in every thing that he desires to know, and before he gives his Opinion, if he pleases, come again; Then put some home Questions to him, tho' nothing but what the meanest Practitioner ought to know: As, what Alterations he expects from the Medicines he prescribes, and when they shall be seen? When the Distemper will be at the height, and whether it will break shortly, or be of long Continuance? Put, I say, these Questions to him, and, by his evasive Answers, and wavering Incertitude, you'll see how little real Skill he has. Ask him directly, whether the Patient will live or die? If he has Cunning, this will puzzle him, and rather than give you a satisfactory Answer, he'll fly for refuge to religion, tho' he never shew'd any regard to it before; and tell you, if you urge farther, that he thinks it Presumption to be positive in things of that nature.

Misom. I always thought this the Fault of the Art itself, because I read in a great many practical Authors: (b) *In prognosi semper cautus sit Medicus*: or something else of the same Purpose.

Phil. No, *Misomedon*: This is no Rule of the Art, but a Trick of the Physicians, that their Ignorance may not be detected: Of the same stamp is, (c) *Ut honori Medici consulatur*, which is so obvious; and these Cautions are commonly used by those, that teach to reason about Distempers: whose Practice is more built on the Probability of their Hypothesis, than the Certainty of Observation. This is not the Language of

^a *Lions in Peace.* A proverb. Applied to those who boast of their Valour, when it cannot be tried, or themselves are out of danger.

^b A Physician ought always be cautious in his Prognosticks.

^c That the Honour of the Physicians be taken care of.

the Ancients: *Judicium difficile*, η δε χρισις χαλεπή: 'Tis difficult to judge, says *Hippocrates*: He don't bid them prevaricate with their Judgement, or say little, and take care not to discover their Blind-side; which is the English of *Cautus sit Medicus*.⁴⁷

Misom. As I told you before, I am off of the Reasons; but is it not possible, that a Blockhead, who is not even incapable of giving those little Reasons you despise, may pass for a skilful Physician, if he should only feel the Pulse, look dull, squat down, and write a Bill? Pray how shall we know them asunder, if neither of them is to give us any Account of his Knowledge?

Phil. As for that, Let him be Grave or Airy, Young or Old, I'll give you an infallible Touch-stone to try him by. If in any acute Distemper whatsoever, his Answers be direct and plain, his Predictions clear, and what he says proves true, you may trust him with all the rest; (a) *si secus, non*; and the more ample and circumstantial his Predictions are, depend upon it, the greater is his Skill. This is an Aphorism, that will hold good in all Countries and all Ages.

Misom. I believe it may; and your talking of this, makes me remember, that when you said how the Junior Physicians serv'd in the Manner of our Nurses, I was going to tell you a Story, which something then put out of my Head again.

It is now three Years ago, that my Son had the Small-Pox; as soon as he was taken Ill, we were afraid that it might be what it proved: A Physician being sent for, he told us, [(what we knew well before,) that as yet] there was nothing to be seen to the contrary, but that it might be the Small-Pox, that the Distemper being so rife, as it was, they were always to be feared in People that had never had them. As soon as the Doctor was gone, my Wife's Sister, who is the Boy's Godmother, persuaded us to send for a noted Nurse, that for forty Years together had done nothing else, but tend People in this Distemper; the Woman comes, looks upon him, and presently tells us, that it would be the Small-Pox. When the first Spot appear'd, which at least was two Days after, she said, that they would be the *Confluent*, and a very Malignant sort; the Youth in the mean time was very Ill. As they came out he seem'd to be a little better, yet Nurse shook her Head, said, he would be in great danger of his Life, and sending now for a Penny-worth of one thing, and then for Two Penny-worth of another, had the cooking of him wholly to her self: At last he grew delirious, and his Fever so violent, that I began to blame my self horribly to trust the only Son I had to an old Woman; tho' hitherto whatever she had foretold was come to pass. A Physician was sent for again in haste, and we heard of abundance of Mismanagements; Bleeding and other things that had been omitted; he told us, that the Patient was too far gone, but that nothing could be left undone, that Art could perform, tho' it was twenty to one if he recover'd. When we thought him at the worst, [and that (b) *ad triarios res redirat*,] all of a sudden Nurse changed her Notes, and said, her Life for his, her Master would do well; as, to make short of my story, he did. The Doctor triumph'd, the Apothecary rejoiced, and every body was pleased. About a

^a *If otherwise, not at all.*

^b *There was imminent danger. A Proverb.*

Twelvemonth after, having seen the whole Family make much of the old Woman several times, I happen'd to talk of her one Day to my Wife, who hearing me speak in praise of her Predictions, confess'd, that by Persuasion of her Sister, who had conjur'd her to trust no body else, she had consented to the throwing away of every scrap of the Medicines, that had been prescrib'd to her Son; who, as she express'd her self, ow'd his Life to no body but God and Nurse.

Phil. Hearing you speak of the Small-Pox, I cannot but observe, first, how the Changes of the *Exanthemata*, or rather ἐκβράσματα, the Pustules of it, lead us to the Knowledge of the Alterations, that during the Course of it happen within; how the Encrease, State and Decrease of the Distemper differ as to Time, as well as Violence, according to the Number, Magnitude, and Colour of the Pustules themselves, and consequently, how much the Physicians are to blame, that treat them all alike: Secondly, how what we know of the Certainty of the several Periods in every sort is owing to the visible Directions we receive from the Pustules without, and the Distempers being more Endemick to all *Europe*, and oftner Epidemick in most parts of it, than any one Fever besides, and consequently its being more taken notice of: Lastly, how all this justifies the Observations that *Galen* and others have deliver'd to us concerning the Expectation of a (a) *Crisis* and Despumation, with the whole Doctrine of the critical Days, in all Fevers, which yet are now so much ridicul'd by the Modern Physicians, merely because in the rest they have nothing so visible and notorious without to direct them, and won't take the Pains of making sufficient Observations to understand and distinguish the several Species of them.⁴⁸

Misom. How come you to think well of *Galen* now, when it is not long ago that you found so much fault with him?

Phil. Galen, when he stuck close to what he was brought up in, was a great Physician, and all his Observations I highly value; but all the fulsome Stuff, which with so much Assurance he would, against his Conscience, palm upon the World for Reasons, I must look upon with much Contempt.

Misom. You are very severe: Why against his Conscience?

Phil. Because it is impossible, that a Man of his Sense, who without doubt was conscious of his own Deficiencies in Anatomy, the animal Œconomy, &c. could believe the hundredth part of what he has writ.

Misom. But you don't tell me, how you like my Son's Nurse.

Phil. I should be loth to trust one no better qualified than this Nurse, with the curing of Distempers. What I said of Prognosticks, I meant of Physicians, of whom we cannot suppose, but if they had made judicious Observations as long as Nurse had made hers at random, they would in that time have likewise got a vast Experience of the (b) *Juvantia* and *Lædentia* in that Distemper; especially if they had had the

^aA Physical Term for the Time in which a Judgement may be made, which way the Disease will turn.

^bThings that help and Things that offend. Two technical Words. When the Nature of a Distemper was doubtful or unknown, the Ancients prescrib'd some innocent Medicines, which they were well acquainted with, and according as they did either good or hurt, tho' in a small degree, they form'd a Judgement of the Method by which the Cure was to be attempted.

Skill in the (a) *Materia Medica*, that is required in the meanest Practitioners. But yet your Story may serve to illustrate what I have said; because it shews, how much stupid Observation it self, even that which is made in spite of our Teeth, *nobis invitis*,⁴⁹ makes us knowing in, and acquainted with the thing we are forced to be conversant with. Every body knows, what Flax, Yarn, Silk, Wool, and the several Manufactures made of them are, so far, as readily to distinguish them from other things. Abundance of People can tell you the Names of several Wares of Drugsters, and Dyers, when they see them: But what vast Skill is required to understand these things thoroughly? What curious and particular Remarks belong to the entire Knowledge of every one of them, as far as it depends upon the Senses? Those that are versed in them, how soon by Seeing and Feeling them do they enter into the Worth, Goodness, difference of Sorts, &c. of them, (b) *primo intuitu*? This Skill we know by Experience is not to be learn'd, but by constantly conversing with, perpetually handling and viewing the several Commodities we speak of, for Years together; and we daily see that the craftiest, and otherwise most expert Men, who know these things but superficially, and no otherwise than by making Use of them, are imposed upon by the greatest Dunces that deal in them.

And as to the Knowledge of Mankind: How much better and quicker shall such as they that have either travell'd, or lived in populous Cities, and have seen Variety of Faces every Day, judge of the Wit, Humour, &c. of People; than those that have led studious, rural, or otherwise retired Lives? But if perhaps a Witty Man, proud of his Parts, that has always lived in the City, should think that this is more due to a natural Genius, Sagacity, and Penetration, than to Use, Practice and Experience; let him go into the Country, look on a Flock of fourscore or an hundred Sheep, examine them one by one, and make what Observations he pleases; let him repeat this every Day, for two or three Months, nay for half a Year together, [as long as his Patience will hold out,] and he'll find at last, that he shall yet be far from knowing them all asunder; when at the same time the Clown, that keeps them, shall not only know every one of 'em readily at a good distance, but likewise think the Difference that is between them so considerable, as to wonder at the Stupidity of those that cannot find it out at first View. Physicians bid us feel the Pulse, and inspect the Tongue and urine of the Patient; but there are other things to be taken into notice of in the Eyes and Face of sick People, that cannot be express'd, and yet yield more certain Rules for Prognostication, to those that are vers'd in them. How incomprehensibly nice must the Movements be of some Muscles, that even Children, when they are acquainted with us, can by our Countenances discover whether we are pleas'd or out of Humour, tho' at the same time we shall neither Smile nor Frown? But above all; how intelligible, as well as copious, is the Language of the Eyes to those that are Masters of it? And yet it is palpable, that our Skill in these, which insensibly becomes habitual to us, is gain'd only by a Constancy of Use, and a Frequency of Observations, [which yet were many of them made without Reflection or Design].

^aEvery thing that Medicines may be made of.

^bAt the first Glance.

Misom. I am convinced, that what you would infer from the Instances you have given, is undeniable; for when we see, that human Skill, in whatever falls under the Senses, cannot be improved, much less consummated, but by Use, Experience, and Practice of long continuance; it is unreasonable to think, that from so general a Rule, sick People, [and the several differences between one sick person and another, or the same Person when sick of different Distempers, should be the only Exception. What Patience and Assiduity in making Observations must it cost the *Chinese* Physicians, to acquire that prodigious Skill they have in feeling Pulses, which *Thevenot* in his Voyages tells us they do with Exactness, as to find out by it the most latent Causes of Diseases; taking up a good half hour, when they visit a Patient, in feeling and examining his Pulse.⁵⁰

Phil. Monsieur *Thevenot* had his Informations concerning *China* chiefly from the *Missioners* that were there; and the *Jesuits* have so grossly imposed upon us in their Relations of that Part of the World, that little Credit can be given to what they say: therefore I am apt to believe rather that the Fathers made this Story to extol the *Chinese*, or else that those Physicians pretend to more than they can perform. That their Chymists are guilty of this latter to some purpose, the same *Thevenot* can witness; for he says of them, That they promise not only to make Gold, but likewise to make People live for ever. But all this notwithstanding, I am very willing to own that in feeling Pulses, as well as the Inspection of Urine, we are very deficient to what some of the Ancients were.

Misom. I have heard of a *Waterologer*, or *Piss-Prophet*, so expert, that he could tell by a Man's working-day's Water, what Trade; and by his *Sunday's* Water, what religion he was of.⁵¹

Phil. All things mysterious will ever be liable to be ridicul'd, because there is always room for Imposture; but I am persuaded that by Application and Patience much more might be gathered from Pulses and Urine both, than what is commonly taught or now known; and I have reason to believe that some Men have really been possess'd of a superior Skill.

Misom. All I can say upon the whole of your Profession is, that considering the Time, as well as the Places and Manner, in which the necessary Experience in Physick can only be acquired, there is among all the Arts and Sciences no Study so difficult and laborious, nor any Observations so irksome and disgusting as those that are required to make but a tolerable Proficiency in Physick.]

Phil. It is without doubt this Irksomeness and Difficulty of the Art, that has deterr'd or diverted Practitioners from pursuing the true Rules of it, and made them content themselves with either plausible Suppositions, and amusing Dissertations about the whole, or else with being over-curious in its easie Branches. Mankind is naturally impatient, and when with all our Endeavours we are not able in a considerable time to discover a Truth, we commonly give over searching after it, and fall into pleasant Disputes and witty Speculations concerning it. Nor is this a bare Assertion of my own, but the *Dogma* of a Man of general Learning, who, in Knowledge of human Affairs and political Wisdom, has had few his Equals; I mean Sir *Francis*

Bacon, who says, (a) *Postquam homines de veritate invenienda semel desperaverint, omnino omnia fiunt languidiora, ex quo fit, ut deflectant potius ad amœnas disputationes, et rerum quasdam peragrationes, quam in severitate inquisitionis se sustineant.*

Misom. Your Quotation is a very *a propos*; but I hear somebody coming up Stairs; my Supper I suppose is ready.—So it is.—Well, Philopirio, (b) *Ne mihi desis in crastinum.*

Phil. (c) *Ne quid ambigas, adero, Misomedon, vale.*

Misom. (d) *Misera est valetudo, cum vale dicit medicus.*

Phil. (e) *Salutem precatus sum; nec valedixi; sed dixi, vale.*

Misom. (f) *Heu quam caligant medicorum preces! ego quod do fulget. Respice.*

Phil. (g) *Dum Placet auditus, non moror visum; præterquam quod nobis satis sunt oculatæ manus.*

^a *When once Men come to despair of finding out the Truth, it dispirits them, which is the reason that they turn aside to pleasant Dissertations and some cursory Views of Things, rather than persist in and support themselves under the Severity of their Enquiries.*

[Francis Bacon, *Novum Organum* (LXVII); Mandeville may have taken the quotation from Baglivi and not directly from Bacon (see Baglivi, *De Praxi medica*, Book I, chap. 2, XI)].

^b *Don't fail or disappoint me To-morrow.*

^c *Depend upon it, I'll wait on you. Farewell.*

^d *A Man must fare miserable when the Physician gives him over.*

^e *I wish'd you Health and Happiness and did not give you over, but bid you to fare well.* This is very bold in *English*, but not so in *Latin*, by reason of an Ambiguity in the Word *Vale-dicere*, which signifies to bid a man to fare well when we go from him, and likewise to give him over or abandon him when we think him to be past Recovery.

^f *How dark are the Wishes of the Physicians! What I give shines. Look at it.*

^g *When I am pleas'd with what I hear, I don't matter looking. Besides that we Physicians have discerning Hands.* This latter is a Proverb in the *Latin*, often applied to Physicians, and signifies judging of what they receive by their feeling.

The Second Dialogue Between Philopirio a Physician, and Misomedon His Patient

Misomedon. By your coming again, I see you are satisfied with what I did.

Phil. I thought you very generous, *Misomedon*; Does your Health continue as well as the fair Weather? How are you to-day?

Misom. I had a Pain in my Stomach this Morning, but now I am well again, only more troubled with Wind than I was Yesterday. (a) *Sed ad rem.* I am very well pleas'd with the Reasons you have given me, why you decline following any Hypothesis; and that for the future I may the less rely upon 'em my self, I shall be glad if you will shew me the Errors and Fallacies of the most probable ones, that have been made to explain the Hypochondriack Passion. First to begin with that which is the Basis of the whole Economy, Concoction: How do you relish what my Modern Physician (as I call'd him) told me about it; that it is perform'd by virtue of an adapted Ferment, that insinuating it self into the Pores of the Aliment is able to break the Contexture of it, and not by the help of any Heat, as the Ancients grossly imagin'd? This Opinion, which is now establish'd, and almost generally receiv'd, has, to my thinking, so great a Resemblance to Truth, and answers so well all the *Phænomena* of Digestion in every Creature, that I believe nothing drawn from solid Reason or Experience can be said against it.

Phil. That there is a Ferment, or at least a certain *Menstruum*, that in the Stomach digests or concocts our Aliments, is more than a supposition; and that in Fishes there is no Heat assisting in this Operation is demonstrable; but then it is as plain, that this *Menstruum* in Fishes is more powerful, than in other Creatures; if we consider, how often not only Heads, Legs, Arms, and whole Quarters of Men, but likewise things of greater Solidity, have been found in the Bellies of Sharks and other large Fishes, sometimes intire as they were swallow'd, and sometimes half or more consumed.

^a *But to come to the Business.*

Misom. I have often admired how any *Menstruum* should be of that force as to dissolve human Bones, and things of harder Substance, and yet not be Corrosive, or affect even the Tongue with the least Acrimony; nay most Fishes, whether raw or boil'd, have nothing about them (the Gall excepted) but what is either Sweet and Luscious, or Viscous and Insipid, or at the worst of an oily taste. A little Fish swallows a less, when perhaps the Moment after he becomes the Prey of one that is bigger, and he again meets with the same Fate, if he comes in the way of those that are larger than himself.

Phil. This made a merry Gentleman compare a great Fish, in which they found a pretty large one, in him another, and a third in that, to a Nest of Boxes, where every one holds the next less, and in that all that are less than it.

Misom. This is what I think so unaccountable, that without the help of chewing, or any great strength of Muscles, a Ferment shall consume an entire Fish, without doing any harm to what must needs be very *Homogeneous* to it, the Belly of the Fish that contains it.

Phil. We must say of their Bellies, what the *Schola Salernitana* says of Cheese, (a) *caseus est nequam, quia concoquit Omnia sequam*: But if the Power of their Ferment were yet stranger than it is, this could only satisfie us, that there are Ferments that are able to digest the Aliments without the help of Heat; but it is far from proving that we have such a one, when Experience shews us the contrary.⁵² First, we find that all cold things taken in quantity offend the Stomach, and damp, if not totally destroy, the Ferment. Secondly, it is evident that Aromaticks, and such other Drugs as are call'd hot, and abound with spirituous and fiery Particles, comfort the Stomach, assuage its Pains, and cure Indigestions occasion'd by Cold; nay, because we cannot procure Heat enough to it otherwise, we make use of Fire it self, not only by a previous dressing of our Food, but likewise by eating it whilst it is hot.

Misom. This may be more out of Custom than any Necessity.

Phil. I cannot well prove that it is absolutely necessary; but ask them, that in Winter are exposed to the Wet and Cold without using great Exercise, which they receive more Benefit from, a Mess of hot Victuals, or raw Roots and Herbs? And if you say, that what they may chuse is more to gratifie their Palates than their Stomachs, take an Instance from the common Diet of Children, by which you'll find that boil'd warm Milk generally agrees well with, and nourishes them, when the same Milk raw and eat cold will gripe and disorder them: Every body knows, that a Glass or two of good Wine to those who are no profess'd Drinkers, whets the Appetite to a Proverb, and that likewise the Spirit of it does the same to ancient People, in whom the natural heat is diminish'd: But I appeal to your own Experience: Remember what it was, that at *Epsom* had encreased the Pain in your Stomach and quite destroyed your Appetite, as well as Digestion, and then think on the Remedy that cured you.⁵³

^aAnd is not Cheese a peevish Elf,

Digesting all things but it self?

According to the old English Translation of that verse.

Misom. Yet the Hypothesis of the Heat's being the Cause of Concoction won't solve the *Phænomenon* of the Fishes, more than that of the Ferment answers the common Experience, which you alledge.

Phil. That's true; and therefore they are both insufficient single, at least as to our Bodies. [There is hardly any thing that Men have less agreed upon, than the concoc-tive Faculty of the Stomach, and what it really is that digests our Food. *Wedelius* is of opinion, that Chyle is nothing but a Mixture of Oil and Serum:⁵⁴ *Tilingius* affirms that is made by a nitrous Salt; the Great *Harvey*, by Trituration; *Willis*, by an Acid and Sulphur; *Diemerbrook* and *Sylvius*, by the Saliva; Dr. *Mayow*, by a Nitroaerial Principle. *Aristotle* and *Galen* thought it was done by Heat; others by a Ferment spew'd from the Glands in the Bottom of the Stomach; and others again by the Relicts of the Meat grown sour. *Sanguinetti*, an *Italian* Physician, thinks none of these so proper as a certain Saline-Armoniacal Liquor, separated by the inner and glandulous Coat.⁵⁵

Misom. That there is a Sour in most Stomachs, I believe; and Mr. *Boyle* seems to have suspected That as the Cause of Digestion, when he made his Observation, that Meats would look extremely white, by being kept in acid Liquors.⁵⁶

Phil. *Helmont*, *Mæbius* and *Tachenius* did the same. But what must we say to Dr. *Musgrave*, who from the Experiment he made, concludes it to be a Volatile *Alkali*? He mixt the mucous Substance taken out of the Stomach of a *Jack*, near the *Pilorus*, with a Solution of Sublimate, and it became much whiter than it was before. Another Quantity mix'd with Syrup of Violets turn'd green.⁵⁷ The same Person has observed like Effects by mixing a Liquor found in the Stomach of a Hedge-hog with a Solution of Sublimate and Syrup of Violets. *Leeuwenhoeck* likewise affirms that Concoction is not performed by an Acid Liquor dissolving our Meat.

Misom. But he ascribes it to the Motion of the Stomach and Guts, which bruises and breaks the Meat to pieces. I remember the passage very well. He thinks that this Motion is caused by the *Diaphragm* pressing upon the parts of the lower Belly as often as we take our Breath. And to account for Concoction in Fishes, he takes the moving of the Gills to be equivalent to Lungs, in composing and dilating the Stomach.⁵⁸ But I cannot think the Force in either a sufficient Cause for such an Effect.

Phil. That the Motion he speaks of contributes with several other things to Concoction, I don't doubt; but if we should take notice of every thing that has been said on this head, it would take us up to a Twelvemonth, tho' we should talk of nothing else.] I shall have occasion to touch upon this Subject again hereafter; therefore I desire we may say no more of it now, but come more closely to your self, the Distemper you labour under. First, let us examine the several Causes to which the Hypochondriack Passion has been believed to owe its Rise. The generality of the Ancients accused the Spleen, but no otherwise, than as it was the Office of their *Atra bilis*, or Melancholy; except *Diocles*, who would have it, that in this Distemper Part of the *Ventricle* was inflamed: But as these Opinions are not much insisted upon, we will spend no time about them.

Some of the Moderns would lay all the Fault upon the *Meseraick* Vessels; others again blame nothing but the empty space, that is under the *Diaphragm* between the

Stomach and the Spleen; as the most proper Nursery, as well as Receptacle for the many Winds that always infest the *Hypochondriack* Patients.

Misom. This among others I know is the Hypothesis of *Fischerus*, who has writ a particular Treatise of the Distemper;⁵⁹ but neither his nor a great many others could ever give me any Satisfaction; what to me seems more plausible is, that of *Sylvius de le Boe*, who says, that if the Cause be not in the Stomach itself, it cannot be remote from it, and thinks, that it proceeds from an Effervescency of the bilious Humour, as it comes out of its Duct with the pituitous Humour, which it meets in the *intestinum duodenum*; and he deduces from the Faults of both, and the Superiority of one or other of 'em, all the different Symptoms that are complain'd of.

Phil. I have nothing against his Hypothesis, as to the solving of the *Phænomena*; only, as to his Method of Cure, it will not hold good; which is in a great measure built upon the Evacuation of that peccant Humour, which of the two is most predominant; for if the Doctrine of the four Humours, as well as the distinct Purges, belonging to each of them, that only eliminate one peculiar Humour, without meddling with the rest, should be erroneous; then it is Demonstration, that if you follow his Advice, you do nothing.

Misom. And that I am afraid it is, tho' none was ever more generally or longer establish'd; as to my self, I confess I could never find out, which way *Tamarinds*, *Rhubarb*, *Aloes*, *Scammony*, &c. that are call'd (a) *Cholagoga*, should single out the Bilious Humours from the other three, and with so much dexterity send them packing, without offering to disturb any of the rest. I can't imagine, but that *Agarick*, *Turbith*, *Hermodactyls*, and *Colloquintida*,⁶⁰ are as well (b) *Menalagoga* and (c) *Hydragoga*, as they are (d) *Phlegmagoga*, which forsooth is their Title; nay, I am sure, that all (e) *Catharticks* (they may call 'em by what fine Names they please) will purge every thing that comes in their way, and take the very Flesh from your Bones, if you make them strong enough, or repeat them often. What I say, I speak by woeful experience, as *Van Helmont* did, who when they had purg'd him severely to Cure the Itch, said he had learn'd—Here it is Page 52, (f) *Quod Pharmaca purgantia non*

^a *Medicines to purge bilious Humours.*

^b *Medicines to purge melancholy Humours.*

^c *Medicines to purge Watry Humours.*

^d *Medicines to purge Phlegm.*

^e *Strong Purges.*

^f *That Medicines call'd purging did not purge or make clean, but caused Putrefactions; that they had dissolv'd and turn'd into Corruption the living Substance of his Body: That instead of selecting and separating one thing from another, they contaminated and carried off promiscuously whatever they touch'd in any Manner, the very Blood and even the Flesh from the Bones, as well as any thing else: That the Corruption which came away made it evident, that the corrupting Cause was a mere poison to the Body, that had a Faculty of liquifying and rendring putrid: That whatever was thus corrupted would by the Propulsion of Nature continue to be carried off, till the Strength of the Poison was spent; and that Purges had this effect upon People in perfect Health, as well as upon those that were sick.*

[This long passage is taken from Jan-Baptist Van Helmont, *Opuscula Medica Inaudita*. For the original Latin text, see for example the second, enlarged edition: *Opuscula Medica Inaudita*

purgarent, aut mundarent sed putrefacerent; quod vividam corporis mei substantiam liquassent; & in putrilaginem resolvissent: quod indifferenter contaminarent quicquid quoquo modo attingerent, sive cruor esset sive demum ipsamet caro vivens; non autem selective unum pro alio elicerent & separarent: Quod Contaminatum denotaret suum Contaminans esse merum venenum Corporis liquefactivum & putrefactivum; quod contaminatum propulsante natura efflaret, donec vis Pharmaci exantlata esset: Quod hoc fieret in sano non secus atque in ægro, &c.

Phil. Van Helmont was as rash, as he was witty; I am always extremely pleas'd with his good-Sense, and Energetick way of writing, but I have often wish'd that his Reasons had been better back'd with Observations, than I have found some of them. But to return to *Sylvius*: We may observe of him that he was a Man of Candour; for however he made this Hypothesis, he seems not to be very fond of it, submits every thing, he says, to Experience, and recommends to all Physicians, not to persist in an Error, if they find that they have committed any.

[*Misom.* Certainly, (a) *Satius est recurrere, quam currere male.*

Phil.] What I think most suitable to the Observations I have made, and consequently most probable, is the Opinion of those; that absolving the Spleen, Meseraick Vessels, Bilious, and Pancreatick Juice, &c. throw all the fault upon the Stomach.

Misom. Now you surprise me again: For how can you approve of no Hypothesis, and yet think them in the right, that suppose the Fault to be in the Stomach?

Phil. Let me explain my self. I may know one to be an ill Man, and yet have reason not to believe some Crimes that are laid to his Charge: So here, by what I know from observation, it is demonstrable to me, that the cause of Hypochondriack and Hysterick Diseases is in the Stomach; and yet I am not satisfied with what is said about it by others, when they begin to particularize, tho' they are of the same Opinion as to the *Viscus* to be blamed. *Diocles*, as I have already said, accuses the Stomach; the learned *Highmore* does the same; and I am of their Opinion as to the *Viscus* in Question. But as the first supposes, that there is an Inflammation toward the lower part of it near the (b) *Pylorus*, and the other, that the Tone of it is become so loose and flaccid, that it can hardly perform its Office, and concocts the Aliments but imperfectly; so I have Reasons to dissent from both, because they both clash with the Observations I have made.

Misom. *Willis*, who places the distemper among the Convulsive, I remember, refutes this *Highmore*, and chiefly for not allowing the Spleen to be of any other use than to warm and cherish the *Ventricle*. What he says himself of Fermentation I like wonderfully, and have read several Passages in that Treatise above twenty times with a great deal of delight; the Office he assigns to the Spleen is certainly very rational, and sometimes I can't help thinking, that he has hit upon the true Cause of my Distemper.⁶¹ I know you are no admirer of those Flights of Invention in Physick, but I must read you a Passage or two of the fifth Chapter: I have lent out the *Latin*,

(Amsterdam, Ludovicum Elzevirium, 1658) Book II, "De Febribus," chap. v, "Purgatio examinatur," p. 27].

^a *It is better to run back again, than to run wrong. A Proverb, of which the Application is obvious.*

^b *The lower Orifice of the Stomack.*

and shall make use of the Translation: What can be more natural, than this Analogy between the Body and a Still?⁶² *But it seems to me, that the Brain, with the Skull over it, and the appending Nerves, represent the little Head or Glass Alembick with a Spunge laid upon it, as we use to do for the highly rectifying of the Spirit of Wine: For truly the Blood when rarified by Heat is carried from the Chimney of the Heart to the Head, even as the Spirit of Wine boiling in the Cucurbit, and being resolved into Vapours is elevated into the Alembick; where the Spunge covering all the opening of the hole, only transmits the more penetrating and very Subtile Spirits, and carries them to the Snout of the Alembick: In the mean time the more thick Particles are stay'd and hindered from passing: Not unlike this manner, the Blood being dilated into the Head, its Spirituous, Volatil and Subtile Particles being restrain'd within, by the Skull and its Meninges, as by an Alembick, are drunk up by the Spungy Substance of the Brain; and there being made more noble or excellent, are derived into the Nerves as so many Snouts hanging to it. Lower he says, Since we treat of Ferments, which are found in the animal Body, we may here opportunely enquire, what is the Use of the Spleen, concerning which all good things are said by some; that it is as it were another Liver, and serves for the making of Blood for the Viscera of the lower Belly: It is by others reputed to be of a most vile use; that it is only the Sink or Jakes, into which the Flætulencies of the Blood are cast. By reason of its Structure we make this sort of Conjecture, because the Arteries do carry the Blood to this, and the Veins bring it away, neither any other thing is carried in or convey'd out; and for that, its Substance is fill'd with black and stagnating Blood; it seems that it is, as it were, a Store-house for the receiving of the Earthy and Muddy Part of the Blood, which afterwards being exalted in the Nature of a Ferment, is carried back to the Blood, for the heating of it. Wherefore while the Blood being carried by the Arteries enters the Spleen, something is drawn from it, to wit, the Muddy and Terrestrial Particles; which are, as it were, the Dregs and Caput Mortuum of the Blood, that by this means the whole Mass of the Blood might be freed from the Melancholick or atrabilious Juice; which is separated in the Spleen, even as the Yellow Bile or Choler is in the Liver; wherefore for the most part, the Spleen is of a black or blewish Colour, by reason of Fæculencies and Dregs there laid up. But as this Juice is deposited in the Milt, or Spleen, is not altogether unprofitable; but by reason of the Plenty of fixed Salts is of a very fermenting Nature, it is not presently as the Choler cast into the Sink, but it is farther cooked in the Spleen, and being exalted goes into a Ferment; which being lastly committed to the Blood promotes its Motion and Volatilisation; wherefore as something is drawn from the Blood, entering the Spleen by the Arteries, to wit, the crude Juice of Melancholy; so something is continually added to the same, flowing back through the Veins; to wit, the same Juice concocted and exalted into the Nature of a Ferment; Even as Chymists in Distilling, that the Liquor may be made better, separate the Spirituous and Subtile Parts from the Caput Mortuum, and then pour them on again; and this work they so often repeat till the Caput Mortuum is by frequent Distillation volatilized, and the Liquor rightly exalted even in all its Particles.*⁶³

Phil. [These are Flights with a Witness. Willis was a Physician of great Note, a Man of Wit and Learning, who indulged Speculation in Physick, as far as his

Imagination could carry him, and some of his Contrivances have been thought to be very ingenious.]⁶⁴ These *Simile*'s, I confess, are very diverting for People that have nothing else to do: In some of our Modern Hypotheses there is as much Wit to be discover'd as in a tolerable Play, and the Contrivance of them costs as much Labour; what Pity it is they won't cure sick People.

Misom. Is it not very natural? What d'ye think of it?

Phil. Yes, it is very natural, and what I think of it I'll tell you. You have seen without doubt a pretty *Simile*, comparing a yielding Mistress to a green Faggot that's laid upon the Fire; the weeping, and crackling of the Flame of both is a happy Thought; and so are the Spunge of the Brain, and the Nerves for Snouts in the Alembick of *Willis*; but sure no Mortal would lay any stress upon, or look for any real Application in either.⁶⁵ Can a Man that understands but half so much of Anatomy as one may learn at a Butcher's Stall, think, that a woman is like a Faggot, or the inside of the Body like a Still?⁶⁶ That the first of the *Simile*'s is an Error you might have been convinced of from a Song that the Boys used to sing at *Paris*, I believe much about the time that you were there; it began; (a) *Il y a bien de la difference d'une Femme et un Fagot*, &c. and that the second is false, I can shew you presently.⁶⁷

Misom. If the making of Hypotheses be very easie, I am well satisfied, it is not very difficult to ridicule them.

Phil. They cannot be ridicul'd so much as they deserve; when their Authors would have us draw any Consequences from them in matters of the highest moment; but if you are in earnest, let us once examine the *Simile*, and take the Still to pieces. First, What Comparison is there between the Function of the Heart, the great Treasury of Blood and Life, and the vile Office of a Chimney?

Misom. But you are Captious, won't you allow of either Trope or Figure? By Chimney he means the Furnace that gives the Heat, the Fire-place of the Still.

Phil. No, *Misomedon*, there is more Artifice in this than you are aware of: The word Chimney is made use of designedly, to hide, as much as possible, the deformity of the Still: For the *Caput Mortuum* being in the Spleen, if he had call'd the Heart the Furnace, as he ought to have done, it would have been too plain, that he had made the Fire between the Head and bottom of the Still.⁶⁸ But if we overlook this, what must become of the Kidneys, the Liver, the Pancreas, and all the rest of the Entrails? I wonder he did not make a pair of Bellows of the Lungs, unless he was afraid of spoiling them so near the Fire; or make room in his Still for the Ventricle, which if not the chief, is at least one of the principal *Viscera*, and infinitely more necessary than the Spleen. The *Caput Mortuum* is always look'd for in the lowest part of all; then why should he grope for imaginary dregs in the Spleen, when putting his Hand a little lower he might have met with real ones? But what must we say of all the Four-footed Animals, that have Hearts, Milts, and Brains, as well as we; whose Heads are elevated no higher than their Rumps; if they are Stills too, considering that the Fire is in the middle, and forces the Contents as much one way as the

^a *There is a great Difference between a Woman and a Fagot.*

other; it is an even Bet, in which of the two most Spirits will be made; only those in the back part will not be quite so fine, because they have no Spunge there.

Good God! was Wit given to Mankind for such ignoble Purposes, as that we should amuse our selves with it where Health and Life are at stake, and in the midst of Danger make a mock of Nature, instead of observing and assisting her? But let us see what *Willis* says of the Spleen; where he treats of the *Passio Hypochondriaca*. Here he leaves the Simile, and says: — *So it seems, that the Blood being laid up in the Spleen, and there getting a Sourness, as it were by Stagnation, puts on the nature of a Ferment, whereby indeed the rest of the Mass of Blood, and perhaps the other Humours are actuated, and as it were spiritualised into a more lively Motion* — of which let us examine the Probability.⁶⁹ First, there are no Cavities in the Spleen, but the Vessels that run through it; in these the Blood will not stagnate, as long as it is fluid, and that it should any where Coagulate naturally, is impossible; for as *Van Helmont* says very well, (a) *Venæ suum Cruorem etiam in Cadavere retinent fluidum consensus totius Anatomice, Cruor autem extravenatus mox in grumum concrescit*. Where then shall it be laid up till it is sower? For to retain it in the *Parenchyma*, the Substance of the Spleen it self, which at best can only be consider'd as a Strainer, is keeping Water in a Sieve.⁷⁰ But Secondly, if we should allow him, that it may be kept there; let him give us a Reason, why all the *Fæculencies* of the Blood should resort to the Spleen only,⁷¹ and not as well to the Liver, or other Parts, unless they are drawn thither by some *facultas attractix*, so much ridicul'd in the Ancients: (b) *omnes enim humores*, says *Ettmüller*, speaking of the Spleen, *Sicuti in reliqua viscera pulsu moventur, & nullus naturalium Corporis partium appetitus pro Nutritione earum demonstrari potest*. Thirdly, if we grant that the Blood stands in need of something to spiritualize, and make it brisk, more in a Man than in a Boy, which is yet a strange Supposition, how and which way shall this be done by a Sowr, or as he afterwards call it, the Sharpness and Austerity of a Ferment; as if a Man were to squeeze an Orange into a Cup of Ale? What Notion at this rate must People, in which there can be nothing that's sharp or sower, without immediate Prejudice to it, as from all the Experiments of the *Chirurgia infusoria* is manifest?⁷² Nay, this sower Ferment would offend even the Spleen itself, if that be true, as it is very probable, which *Tachenius* in *Hippocr. Chymic.* says (c) *Quod omne acidum extra ventriculum naturæ inimicum sit*.

^a *The Veins keep their Blood fluid even in a Corpse, as all Anatomists must allow, but Blood got out of the Veins presently congeals to a clod.*

[Jan-Baptist Van Helmont, *Ortus medicina* (Amsterdam, L. Elzevirium, 1652), p. 743].

^b *For all the Humours, as in other Viscera, are carried along by Propulsion, and it is impossible to prove such a thing as an Attraction of the natural Parts of the Body, by the Help of which they receive their Nourishment.*

[Mandeville is here quoting Michael Ettmüller's doctoral dissertation on hypochondria (*Dissertatio Academica de Malo Hypochondriaco*, 1671). See Michael Ettmüller, *Opera Medica Theorico-practica* (Geneva, Fratres de Tournes, 1736), vol. IV, p. 770].

^c *That whatever Sour is hurtful to Nature, except in the Stomack.*

[Otto Tachenius, *Hippocrates Chymicus*, translated by J.W. (London, Nath. Crouch, 1677)].

Mind how plausible he strives to make his Hypothesis! how he adapts it to the Palates of splenetick Patients, where he quotes the Opinion of *Velthusius*, who, he says — *has determined it to be highly probable, that a Ferment is contain'd in this Inward, whereby the sluggish Particles of the Blood are brought into a state of Activity: Because taking notice that in Children and others indued with a sanguine Temperament, and more Fat, or dull Habit of Body, even as their Manners and Disposition of Mind were inclined to Idleness, Softness and Dullness, so their Spleen was ever of a reddish Colour, and full of florid Blood like the Liver; from hence he concludes, that the Spleen but little performs its Office, in these, as the genital Parts before ripe Age, or in those of weak Loins; but on the contrary, for as much as Men of a middle Age, and chiefly those who are of severe Countenance and of a lean Body, as in them appear Marks of Cunning, Sagacity, Fortitude and Constancy; so their Spleen is found to be of a livid, or blewish colour, and imbrued with Blood, as it were, muddy: Further he argues from hence that the Blood being kept long in the Spleen, as in a Conduit or Receptacle, turns plainly into a Ferment; by which its remaining Mass, being from thence inspired, is made more subtil, and begets more acute Spirits both in the vital and in the animal Kingdom, or Government; for he supposes our Bodies naturally to abound with too much Humidity, by which indeed the Function of the Parts, and many of the Viscera, are very much dull'd: But that the Spleen does communicate to the Mass of Blood, solid, firm and constant Parts, and not easily to be dissipated; and that those do wipe away that Moistness, and with it carry away in some measure that Softness from the Blood and Spirits, which is predominant in tender Age: Almost after the same Manner as the Northern Wind, or the Eastern Gales fanning, and immediately penetrating the Air, with the Driness and Strength of their Parts, breathe Health and Strength to the Air and to our Bodies — This is what the French call *Raisonner à perte de vue*, and yet methinks it is engaging, as is especially what he after says, — which kind of Spleeny Juice being dilated to the Brain, sharpens the animal Spirits and raises them up, being sloathful, and irritates them into quick Motions, from whence it is commonly said the Sharpness and Sagacity of the Mind doth proceed from the Spleen, and splenetick People are accounted ingenious* ⁷³—You see, *Misomedon*, how your witty Men give every thing a Gloss, and let not the least Shadow of Reason slip that can assist them: *Proverbs*, vulgar Sayings, any thing to give a lift to an Hypothesis; but how high a Compliment soever what I read last may appear to be at first view to *Hypochondriacks*, it is but a sorry one in Reality; to put them in mind that they are beholden for their brighter Parts (the *Divinæ particula auræ*, of which you know Men are so fond) to a sower ferment made from the Dregs and muddy Part of the Blood by stagnating in such an ill-look'd *Viscus* as the Spleen, and give them the Mortification of thinking their Wit and their Distemper of the same Original. Besides, that which it is built upon will hardly hold Water; for the Word Spleen in its figurative Sense is made use of to express Passion, Malice, Rancour, and a Perversly Satyirical Temper, rather than Sharpness and Sagacity: What splenetick People are counted to be, I won't dispute; but the Epithet it self,

which is ever taken (a) *in malam partem*, is given to no Body because he is Witty or Ingenious; but for being Touchy, Waspish, and Unsociable, always denoting a Vice, and not a Virtue of the Mind: Being a Foreigner I dare not be very positive in what concerns the Language; yet the incomparable *Butler* seems to be of my side, where he says of the *Phanaticks*, to whom he designs no Panegyrick, that they are

*As peevish and as splenetick
As Dog distract, or Monky sick.*⁷⁴

But to shew you, that I would not disoblige my Patients more than *Velthusius* or *Willis*, I'll readily allow whatever they said of their Sharpness and Sagacity: nay I'll add, that they are oftner Men of Learning, than not; insomuch, that the *Passio Hypochondriaca* in High-Dutch is call'd *Der Gefahrten Kranckheydt*, the Disease of the Learned; because they are more subject to it than other people. If the Spleen be the occasion of all this, it certainly finds them books too: I urge this so far, to let you see what wrong Constructions even great Men can put upon things to serve an Hypothesis. *Hypochondriacal* People are generally Men of Sense, that's very true: Not that the Spleen is the Cause of both, or either indeed; but because Men of Sense, especially those of Learning, are guilty of Errors, that, unless they are of a very happy Constitution, will infallibly bring the Disease upon them, such as Blockheads can't commit; for all Men that continually fatigue their Heads with intense Thought and Study, whilst they neglect to give the other Parts of their Bodies the Exercise they require, go the ready way to get it, as by undeniable Arguments I shall demonstrate hereafter: So that soft-headed People are not otherwise exempt from this Disease, that the grand Seignor's Eunuchs are from Claps, by being incapable of performing what may occasion it.⁷⁵

Misom. But what can you say to the Anatomical Observations, that are in behalf of this Hypothesis?

Phil. That I have more convincing ones against it; for as *Velthusius* and others, the mighty Champions for the Honour of this *Viscus*, will have it, that even sower Ferment of the Stomach is likewise borrowed from the Spleen, so the latter must be at least as necessary an Organ as the first, by their Hypothesis: Then what will they say of all the Dogs that have their Milts cut out; as *Diemerbroek*, *Ettmuller*, with fifty more, and I myself have seen more than once, that Eat as voraciously, digested as well, and, as far as I could see, were as sensible Dogs as their Neighbours? Does not one such Instance destroy their whole Fabrick? But not to insist upon this, and to make it appear what Cobweb Reasons they depend upon; let us mind the Observations themselves, and the Consequences they draw from them. The hinge of the whole turns upon the Spleen's not performing its Office in Children nor soft-headed People; because in them it looks Red, and not Livid, as it does in Men of sharp Sense. As to Children, I know the Observation is very true: But neither their Liver, the Kidneys, nor any of the other *Viscera*, nor the Muscles, the Flesh it self, are of so deep a colour in any Animals, when they are young, as when they are come to their full Growth: Would they conclude from this likewise, that they did not

^a *In a bad Sense.*

perform their Office? But that the same Redness of Spleen is always to be found in slothful softheaded People, I doubt much: At least I don't believe that they have observ'd it often enough, to lay so much stress upon it: But, as I am not able to contradict them, I must allow whatever they can make of it. The next thing I shall enquire into, is what we are to understand by the Spleen's but little performing its Office: In order to which we'll divide its Function into two parts; the one, to receive the Dregs from the Blood; and the other, to volatilize them into a Ferment, to quicken and enliven the Blood. If the Spleen in those Instances of its Redness performs neither of the two Functions, then what becomes of the Dregs of the Blood? Which way does the Blood get rid of them? And where are they laid up during the Nonage of the Spleen? But if it receives the Dregs, and is only deficient in volatilizing them into a Ferment, and sending it away into the Blood, then it ought to be more livid in them than in adult and witty People; because it keeps all the Dregs: Besides that, when the Spleen should come to be stuff'd with *Fæces*, and no more able to receive the Recrements of the Blood, which should therefore be forced to flow back into the Neighbouring Branches of the *Cæliack* Artery, &c. this would produce the same Distempers, which according to the Hypothesis and *Willis's* own Words must follow in all Stoppages of the Spleen.

Misom. I see very well that if the Spleen should perform one part of its Office to the full, and be wholly wanting in the other, none would be more subject to the *Hypochondriack* Passion, than children and soft-headed People, which I suppose is the (a) *absurdum*, to which you would bring them: But *Velthusius* says no such thing, and only concludes, that the Spleen performs its Office but little; that is, receives few *Fæculencies*, and makes little, or but an imperfect Ferment; or else, which is most probable, lets the *Fæculent* Blood pass through its Substance without altering it much.

Phil. I'll answer that presently: But first let us look into the Merits of that specious Comparison between the Non-performance of the Genital Parts, and that of the Spleen. The Genital Parts, 'tis very true, don't perform their Office before the Years of Puberty; but then they are never of any service to the Blood; the Blood deposits nothing in them, but what it had better keep, and the less they are made use of, the richer that remains; for it is undeniable, that no Function depauperates the Blood, or shortens even Life it self, more than theirs.⁷⁶ The Spleen on the other side is very useful to the Blood, and according to their Hypothesis, the Sink where it empties all its Filth, and cleanses it self. After this I must ask you, or any Man alive, Whether the Consequence to be drawn from the Analogy, that is between them, can run otherwise than thus? Because the Blood can be easie without the operation of Organs, that only prey upon and rob it of its most Balsamick Parts, therefore it may likewise dispense with the Operation of an Organ, that draws the Dregs from and cleanses it: Which, if I may be allow'd to make a Comparison in my turn, is to say, as well as a Man may be twenty Years without paying Taxes, so well he may live the same time without shifting himself. Now for your Objection: *Velthusius* you say makes the Spleen perform its Office but little, which may be understood that the

^a*Absurdity.*

Fæculent Blood passes through the Spleen without receiving any great Alteration, and if so, all my fine Conclusions come to nothing. Very well: But the *Fæculencies* passing through the Spleen with so little Disturbance, I hope you'll allow me that they still remain in the Blood; from which it must follow, that in a little time the whole Mass of it will be *Fæculent*, unless you either suppose, that in Children and soft-headed People, when the Blood has once got its proportion of *Fæces*, no more new ones will enter into it; or else, which is the last Shift, that their Blood has no Dregs at all, or at least, very few in Comparison to that of others; so there is another Advantage to Fools that *Erasmus* never dreamt of, and the Muddiest and most Fuliginous Blood is only to be look'd for in Men of the brightest Parts, for the same Reason, I suppose, as the Smoak goes to the Fairest.

Misom. So much for *Willis* and his Opinion of the Spleen; [which *Viscus*, and the Liver, I believe, are two *Asylums* that Physicians often take Refuge in, when they meet with Distempers which they know not well what to make of. There is a notable Case in the (a) *Philosophical Transactions*, that has much confirm'd me in this Belief. It is of a noble Lady, who for many Years had labour'd under all the Symptoms that are call'd Hysterick. The most eminent Physicians, and among them the famous *Mayerne*, had all along suspected the Liver and the Spleen to be in Fault, and often pronounced them *Schirrous*.⁷⁷ Yet when the Lady died, upon the Dissection both these *Viscera* appear'd to be perfectly sound: Nay, some body has observed, that the Spleen is the only Part in which no Worms have been found.

Phil. That both the Spleen and Liver are often unjustly accused is certain, yet many times they are affected. In the same (b) *Transactions*, you might have met with the Case of a young Gentlewoman, who, by being very intense on her Needlework, and by too close an Application to it, with a total Neglect of Exercise, became Hysterick: Dying of a Fever she was open'd, and her Spleen so large, that tho' the Substance of it was putrid, it weigh'd five times as much as an human Milt commonly does.]⁷⁸

Misom. As you are of opinion, that the *Hypochondriack* and *Hysterick* Passions proceed from the same Original, what do you think of this Treatise of Vapours?⁷⁹

Phil. It is some Years ago, that I read it; but the hint of the Hypothesis I remember then appeared to me to be taken partly from *Highmore* in charging the Stomach, and partly from *Willis* in accusing the Brain; tho' the Author makes no Pretence of siding with either. The Symptoms being very different, as well as many, in this Distemper, it is no small Difficulty to solve them all from one and the same Cause; that is, from either Crudities alone, or else the Irregularity of the Spirits, without any other Assistance; which the Author observing very well, explains first as many *Phænomena* as he can from Crudities, and afterwards accounts for the rest from a Deficiency of Spirits, as the Consequence of those Crudities, which to me seems very natural, and therefore I think the Hypothesis very ingeniously contriv'd.⁸⁰

Misom. There is one thing in this Treatise puzzles me, which is this: The Author says that the inordinate Motion of the Spirits is not the *adequate* Cause of the

^a *Philosophical Transactions*, N°173

^b *Philosophical Transactions*, N°194.

Disease; this he proves from the nature of the Remedies, which all Physicians, even the very Authors and Asserters of that Opinion, prescribe in this Disease; as Spirit of Sal-Amoniack, Spirit of Urine, &c. wondring that so many Ingenious Men should act so contrary to their Reason, or reason so contrary to their Experience; because it is so manifest, that the Medicines he speaks of, by rend'ring the Motion of the Spirits more violent, must necessarily put them into a greater Confusion; In all this I think he is much in the right; but then here again, p. 31 he says, *Note also, that when I say Crudities are the Cause of this Disease, I do not deny but that it is the Disorder of the Spirits, which immediately causes the Convulsions and several other Accidents. However I think that Crudities ought to be look'd upon as the Principal and Efficient Cause, and this Disorder of the Spirits and Symptoms it produces, only as Effects which flow from them.* Here I think the same Objection which the Author makes against Willis and Sydenham (who without doubt he means by the Asserters of that Opinion) holds likewise good against himself: For if what he says of those Remedies be true, as I think it is unquestionable, let the Disorder of the Spirits, which he allows, be an immediate Cause, an Effect, or what he pleases, as long as the same Disorder produces Convulsions, and several other Accidents, and constantly accompanies Hysterick Fits, it must likewise be encreas'd by the Remedies prescrib'd, when the Patients are in them, and all the volatile and spirituous Medicines that in the Paroxism are used to make the Convulsions and several other Accidents cease, will consequently prolong and make them worse.⁸¹

Phil. It is easie to cavil at Particulars in any Hypothesis; but then it is as easie to maintain them. I know it is a received Opinion now-a-days, that a Man of Sense who understands Anatomy, and something of Mechanick Rules, ought to penetrate into the Manner of every Operation that is perform'd in a Human Body, it being but a mere Machine; nay, 'tis beneath a gentleman, that pretends to Natural Philosophy, to be ignorant of any thing, or so much as surmise, that it should be in Nature's power to contrive a Work, for which he could not give a plausible Reason.⁸²

Misom. You say the Hypothesis is ingeniously contriv'd, and may be easily defended; but yet you seem to dislike something in it. If the Scruple I had be of no weight with you, what have you to object against it?

Phil. Nothing, but what I have against all Hypothesis in general; I can't endure a Man should make a formal description, with so many Circumstances to make you believe it is true, and write a whole Book upon a thing which he knows in his Conscience that he knows nothing of. We are altogether in the Dark, as to the real use the Liver, the Milt, and Pancreas are of to our Bodies; nay, wholly ignorant of their several Offices otherwise than that they are *Organa Colatoria*; through which something is strain'd, and all that has been said of them besides, by the most sagacious Men, has been nothing but Conjecture, in which the best Anatomists could never yet agree: If we consider, with how little Certainty we can speak of Organs so conspicuous, such gross and large *Viscera*, is it not amazing to see some Men made of no other Mold, nor assisted with more helps in Anatomy than you or I, suppose themselves so well acquainted with things invisible and almost incomprehensible, as this Author does in his little Book? Where he not only traces the animal Spirits through the unknown Labyrinth of the Brain, even to an *angle of incidence*, but

likewise determines Thought it self, comprehending the very Soul in the Mechanism of the Body, as plainly appears in his mechanical Explication of the Cries and Groans, that are observ'd in Hysterick Fits.⁸³ Speaking of Nature's Endeavours to remove by struggling the uneasie Heaviness the Patients feel, he goes on thus, *But the Soul finding the Body unable utterly to repel this Evil, and that it is beyond her Power to conquer it, she sinks under her Pain and Anguish, and breaks out into Cries and Groans; thereby to intimate to them, that are about us, she wants their aid, not being able by all the troublesome Agitation on the Lips and Tongue to form one distinct Word to demand it.*⁸⁴ This is very florid, I confess, but not less extravagant; yet well to be maintain'd, because it is not easily contradicted: But I never stand upon Niceties with an Hypothesis; knowing that the Authors of them think it very immaterial, what they suppose, so they can but solve the *Phænomena* from it. Shall I tell you sincerely how the generality of them are made in Physick?

A man that has a mind to Compose, and have the Honour of being call'd the Author and Inventor of an Hypothesis; first examines those, that upon the Case in Question have been made before him; by his reading, without the Expense of much thinking, he becomes acquainted with all the Faults, which the latter Supposers still have found with their Predecessors; and having heard at the Universities, and among Men of Letters, what Objections may be made against the last of all, he has the human Body, the whole Microcosm at his Service, to manage it as he pleases, till he can find out something that may serve his Purpose; in the Search of which he is not so solicitous to dive into the real Cause of the Distemper, as he is to find out such a one, as his capacity will let him explain the Symptoms from: Therefore whenever I meet with an Hypothesis, I first examine whether it be the Product of diligent Observation, or of a prolifick Brain, and after that I judge of it by the lump.

Half a Year ago I was sent for very late at Night to a Gentlewoman near thirty, whom I found in hysteric Fits; the relation they gave me of her, was, that she enjoyed a perfect Health, and had never been Hysteric before; that she was gone to bed in good Order, and very well contented, where having been about half an Hour she had been taken as I saw her: Whilst I was there she recover'd, and complain'd of nothing but being giddy. The next Morning I understood that she had slept very well, after I had left her; and endeavouring to find out what might have occasion'd her Disorder, I could learn nothing from her, but that the Day before she had drank of some generous Wine, more plentifully than she was used to do, tho' as she thought, not to excess. I saw this Gentlewoman about a Fortnight ago, and heard from her own Mouth, that she has continued well ever since. This being fact, as I solemnly declare it is, I would ask what room there can be in this Case to suspect, that either Crudities or a Deficiency of Spirits were the Cause of her Disturbance? Or whether it can be attributed to any thing, but a great plenty of Spirits too violently agitated, and consequently a Confusion of them; Which latter the great *Sydenham* has not in his Closet, but in his Practice observ'd to be the internal efficient Cause of all Hysteric and Hypochondriacal Diseases; *Sydenham*, I say, that candid as well as expert Physician, whose justly deserv'd *Encomium* you may read

in this eminent *Foreigner*; where he is call'd, (a) *Artis nostræ Ornator & Ornamentum, qui sepositis Opinionum Commentis ad Observationes prorsus se dedit, & à prima Ætate ad Extremum usque Senium cum naturâ cohabitavit.*

Misom. But do you think *Sydenham* could have solv'd all the symptoms from that cause?

Phil. So as to satisfie himself I believe not, but I dare say, he never troubled his Head much about it, and throughout his Works you may see, how immaterial he thought those Trifles to the real Practice of Physick. As for instance; tho' no Man ever writ more to the Purpose upon Fevers than himself, yet concerning the Differences of Periods, peculiar to the several Sorts of Agues and intermitting Fevers, he ingenuously confesses, that he could give no satisfactory Reason for it; yet almost all Physicians besides, that write upon the same Subject, pretend to give us very plausible ones: What can be the Reason of this? If he had only had a Mind to different from others, Can we think that a Man of his Sense and Learning could not have made some agreeable Conjecture or other, as well as the rest had done before him? 'Tis then doubtless an Evidence of his Candour and Sincerity, that would not let him, to gain Applause and Reputation, impose upon Posterity by asserting what he was not convinc'd of first from his own Experience, or appear more knowing than he knew himself to be.

It is an admirable Instruction to all Physicians, which the learned *Baglivi* gives us for the composing of a lasting Hypothesis; having first stipulated that it must by no means be drawn from our own Fancies, but from the undoubted *Phænomena* of Nature it self, he bids us follow the Method of Astronomers, whose whole Art, says he, chiefly consists in this: First they observe diligently the *Phænomena* of the celestial Bodies; from thence afterwards they ascend into Theories exactly delineated after a Geometrical Manner; and when they have learnedly examin'd, and are thoroughly vers'd in these things, they are able to foretell, and define all the Motions, Sites, Conjunctions, &c. of those Bodies with all the Certainty imaginable: So that first they take care of having a vast Train of Observations, and then they compose a Theory, that they may give a plausible Reason for them; and tho' they have among them several Systems of the Heavens, as that of *Copernicus*, *Tycho Brahe*, &c. that contradict, and clash with one another; yet in foretelling the *Phænomena* and Motions of the heavenly Bodies, that is, the computing of the Eclipses, and various Aspects of the Planets, they none of them either differ or fail. The Mystery of which Matter lies in this; that all Astronomers,⁸⁵ tho' every one of 'em conceives a Theory of the Stars peculiar to himself, have drawn their Theories from one and the same constant Observation of the Celestial Bodies; for whatever one has observ'd, the other still must have observ'd the same. So that the Reasons they can give of what they observ'd, and the Hypotheses they are able to build upon it, consisting only in

^aOne that had adorn'd our Art and been an Ornament to it himself; that having set aside the Fictions of Men's Brains, had spent all his Time in making Observations, and from his Youth to his old Age cohabited with Nature.

[The "eminent foreigner" is Giorgio Baglivi. See *De Praxi medica*, Book I, chap 12, III].

Opinion, may vary and be all fallacious; but the things observed being true, the Inferences that are drawn from them by Rules as certain, must always be the same.⁸⁶

I am extremely pleas'd with this Example: For besides the Illustration the Author design'd it for, it puts me in mind of two things, which I can't forbear taking notice of: The first is, that, if a Man, whom we'll suppose so wholly ignorant in Physick and Astronomy, as not to know that there are two such Arts in being, was always to be either conversing with the sick, or else minding the Motions of the Stars, and dividing his time between the two Studies, to spend 20 or 25 Years in making what Observations he could in both, without the least Instruction of Men or Books; I think it highly probable, that such a one, tho' a Man of an exquisite Genius, vers'd in Arithmetick, and every thing else, but the two Arts I named, would not believe the Knowledge, that could be got by observing the different Motions of the celestial Bodies more capable of ever being reduced to an Art of Rules and Certainty, than that which might be acquired by likewise observing the various Courses of Distempers incident in our Terrestrial ones.

From which Consideration I infer; that it is as yet inconceivable, to what prodigious pitch human Knowledge, in all things, that fall under the Senses, tho' never so changeable, remote or irregular, may be carried by diligent Observations, when they are faithfully transmitted from one to another, and without Intermission continued for several Ages. The second is, that we may learn how weak and fallacious a Proof, the Solution of the Symptoms from an Hypothesis must be, of our being acquainted with the true Cause of a Distemper; when from this Instance of Astronomy it is evident, that the same *Phænomena* exactly answer to different Hypotheses, of which at best only one can be true.

Misom. But I think this is rather against you; for that Fact, that all Astronomers of what Hypothesis soever, agree in their Calculations, shews, that not to be mistaken it is sufficient to have one, that explains the *Phænomena*.

Phil. So it is, as long as they don't reason from the Hypotheses, and then any one may serve; for from their not erring it is manifest, that they conclude nothing but from their Observations, by Rules as certain; whilst the Hypotheses only make a shew, and are wholly insignificant.

Misom. I believe, with you, that in Physick, as well as Astronomy, what is observ'd is of greater Use by far, than what is suppos'd; yet in natural Philosophy nothing is to be done without an Hypothesis. Tho' I am pretty well wean'd from the Adoration I formerly paid to the Ancients, I still have a great Respect for them: Yet notwithstanding the Praises, that are due to those Founders of Arts and Sciences, a Man of Sense must acknowledge, that the manner of explaining *Phænomena* both have above and below, in use among Modern Philosophers, has more Reason and Solidity in it, than that of the Ancients. They knew nothing of Created Things, farther than their outward Senses would let them penetrate into them. Their *Facultates Attractrices, Concoctrices & Expultrices*, with all the occult Qualities, were very poor Solutions to those of Monsieur *Des Cartes*; and if, since *Pythagoras, Plato, or Aristotle*, Men had not made use of their rational Part, and exercis'd their Faculty of thinking, we must have been ignorant of her Operations in a thousand Instances, that now we can very well account for.

Phil. The real Knowledge we have of Nature beyond the Ancients, that we are not indebted for to Observation, would I believe upon strict Examination not amount to much; but as to the Explication of her Operations, that often changes with the Times, and looking back you may all along observe a fashion in Philosophizing as much as in wearing of Cloaths, tho' in the first perhaps it lasts longer, than in the latter. [*Cartes* has been much admired, but his Philosophy loses ground every Day.]⁸⁷ No Hypotheses ever became famous, before it had pleas'd a great Part of the learned World; and ever since the Fall,⁸⁸ Mankind has had the same Strength of Thought: The rest depends all upon Experience; wherefore as long as that encreases, and our Fickleness continues, it is impossible that ever a System or Opinion should be generally receiv'd, or last for ever. When I hear a Man lay a great stress upon any, I divert my self with the Thoughts of what Fate the best of them have met with Hitherto: For what I am going to say has been the Case of all of them.

An Hypothesis, when once it has been a little while establish'd, becomes like a Sovereign, and receives the same Homage and Respect from its Vassals, as if it was Truth it self: This continues till Experience or Envy discovers a Flaw in it: Yet unless it be a great Man indeed, that finds fault first, his Discovery is only answered with Contempt for a while: But when another Hypothesis is broach'd, (which is commonly soon after) that not having the Fault of the former, and being likewise well contriv'd, gets a considerable number of Followers: Then you see all that sought under the Banners of the old Hypothesis bristle up, and every Man of Note amongst them thinks himself personally injured, and in Honour obliged to stand by it with his Life and Fortune. Now all Arts and Sciences are ransack'd, and whatever can be drawn from Wit, Eloquence, or Learning, is produced to maintain their own Leige Hypothesis, and destroy the upstart one; and the whole Party is alarm'd with as much Concern as they are in a Man of War, when they have receiv'd a Shot under Water: In the mean time they that have lifted themselves under the new Hypothesis are not idle, and thus both Parties enter into a perfect state of War; the better sort fighting with Arguments, the rest with personal Reflections. This Play is generally continued for a considerable time with a great deal of Violence; and I have observ'd as much Hatred and Animosity between the *Aristotelians* and *Cartesians*, when I was at *Leiden*, as there is now in *London* between *High-Church* and *Low-Church*.⁸⁹

Misom. And for ought I know with as much Reason. [But Difference in Opinions will make men Enemies, (a) *etiam si de fumo disceptarent*.]

Phil. If the new Hypothesis is continually supplied with Men of Sense, that zealously espouse its Cause, and keeps the Field till some of its chief Enemies, and those that first oppos'd it, are dead, it daily gets ground till it triumphs at last, and ascends the Throne of the poor old one, that like an *Emeritus* in *Chelsey-College* is laid by among the rest of the maim'd *Hypotheses*, (b) *senio belloque fracta*.⁹⁰ If you consult History, you'll find that the more witty and talkative the Age is, the more fruitful it is of Sects, Opinions and Hypotheses:⁹¹ If you would know, how we come

^a *Though they should dispute of smook. A Proverb, to wrangle about the greatest Trifles.*

^b *Become decrepit by Age and War.*

by so many; the best Wits lay out their Talents that Way, and one encouraging the other, make it as catching as the Itch: so that you may apply to it what *Juvenal* says somewhere upon another Account:

——(a) *dedit hanc contagion labem,
Et dabit in plures; sicut grex totus in agris
Unius scabie cadit, & porrigine porci,
Uvaeque conspecta livorem ducit ab uva.*

Misom. As I brought you upon talking of *Hypotheses*, I suppose against your Inclination, so I see, you are resolv'd to fit me for it, and design to tire me with them before you give over: Therefore to have done with them at once, rather than hold any more Arguments about them, I'll say, as you'd have me, that they are only pieces of Wit, mere *Jeux d'Esprit*, study'd for Diversion, and that no greater stress should be laid upon them, than upon Plays and Romances, the Authors of which ought to be supposed to have as little to do, as the People they write them for. But now you must resolve me one thing, which I have had a mind to ask you a great while: Speaking of the Empirick Sect yesterday, you said, that if they had held the Knowledge of the Body and Nature to be of no Importance to the Art of Physick, you would differ from them: But as long as you don't care for reasoning about Distempers, either in finding out the Causes, or the curing of them, I can't see what Occasion you can have for understanding any thing but the general Practice of our old Women. In my Opinion a Man wants but little Anatomy to prescribe a Pen'worth of *Venice Treacle* for a Cold, half a quarter of a Pint of Linseed Oil for a Pleurisie, and a Spoonful of Honey for the Phtisick.

Phil. You may go on with Whey for the Bloody-Flux, Madder for the Jaundice, Jesuits Bark for Agues, and twenty Medicines more of the same Stamp; that I shall never esteem the less for being common.⁹²

Misom. I don't speak against the Goodness of the Medicines; but it is certain, that whoever makes use of them thus at random, only because they have often done good, builds upon a very stupid Experience. If you grant this, as I don't see how you can avoid it, then pray tell me what Arts are there required more to make a Physician that shall practice after that way, than what you may often find in a good Nurse? For you say, they must not rely upon any thing, but what is within the reach of their outward Senses, and never make use of, or at least trust to, their Reason.

Phil. Before I answer directly, I beg leave to put you in mind of what is almost worn thread-bare, the *Simile* of a crooked Stick, which to make it strait we bend to the contrary side. When you ask'd me, how I could without the Help of some *Hypothesis* or other reason about the Symptoms, Causes, &c. of Distempers; because I would by no means have you expect from me those nice Explications of

⁹²This passage of *Juvenal* is used to express the force of contagion, and the ill consequence of bad examples. To give the Sense of it in English, Mr. Dryden thought it sufficient to say: As one infected Sheep confounds the flock.

[*Juvenal*, *Satires*, sat. II. As to the English translation quoted by Mandeville, see *The Satires of Decimus Junius Juvenalis; translated into English Verse by Mr. Dryden, and other eminent Hands* (London, Jacob Tonson, 1713). The second satire was in fact translated by Nahum Tate (see p. 21)].

unsearchable Nature, which your witty *Theorists* rack their Brains for from a bare Supposition, I answer'd you at once, that I did not reason about them at all; but now I have shew'd you the demonstrable Error of the Ingenious People of our Age, who are so fond of their Parts, as to think, that besides Anatomy and Philosophy, a Man of Sense wants no other Helps to penetrate into the Causes of the most intricate Distempers, if he is but once acquainted with the Symptoms: Now I have shew'd you this, I say, I shall not scruple to tell you that I would not make a Step without Reason, more than those Philosophers, to which Title I don't pretend, whatever I may to the Reality of its meaning: I would not have you think, that I speak of that lofty self-sufficient Reason that boldly trusts to its own Wings, and leaving Experience far behind mounts upon Air, and makes Conclusions in the skies; what I make use of is plain and humble, not only built upon, but likewise surrounded with, and every way limited by Observation, from view of which it never cares to stir.

As to the ridiculous and unartful manner of prescribing, with which you seem to charge me, I thought, that by demonstrating what Labour, Industry and Patience were requisite for the composing of a faithful History of every Disease, in order to cure it, I had taken sufficient care to prevent any Suspicion that way.

Misom. I am satisfy'd, and thought my self answer'd as soon as you condescended to join Reason to Observation. For as to the other reasoning, that both begins and ends in Speculation, I told you Yesterday, that I had done with it my self. If I had known your Mind sooner, we should not have spent half so much time in talking of Suppositions, tho' I am not displeas'd with having started those Difficulties as I did: Because being now by your Answers better instructed [in the Notions you have of these things], whatever you shall say about the hypochondriack Passion, will be better entertain'd, and have more weight with me; whether it concerns the Distemper in general, or my Case in particular.

Phil. It is a Custom in all our Foreign Universities for Students in all Faculties, after having pass'd the several Examinations they are to undergo, before they take their Degree, to compose and defend against all that will oppose, a *Thesis* or Dissertation,⁹³ the Theme of which is what they are pleas'd to chuse themselves, and always some Head or Point relating to the Profession they belong to.

Misom. I know it: They are Printed; and being neatly Stitch'd in Covers of Marble-Paper, distributed among the Scholars: For when I was at *Utrecht*, where I stay'd but three Days, there happen'd to be a Promotion of a Doctor in the Civil Law, or as they call it, *utriusque juris*;⁹⁴ and as I stood in the great Auditory, the Candidate himself, with both his *Paranymphs*⁹⁵ (which you know is the Name they give to the two Gentlemen, his Friends, that attend him) taking me I suppose for what I was, a Stranger, made way through a great Crowd, on purpose to present me with one, which I took as a great favour, from a Man whom I had never seen before, especially in a Country, that is not fam'd for manners. The *Thesis* I remember was (a) *de Codicillis*.⁹⁶

^a *Of Codicils.*

Phil. Mine was (a) *de Chylosi vitiatâ*, which I defended at *Leyden* in the Year 1691, Dr. *William Senguerdus*, Professor of the *Aristotelian* Philosophy, being then (b) *Rector Magnificus*.⁹⁷ My reason of telling you this, which otherwise might seem impertinent, is because I have often thought it very remarkable, that I always had a particular Eye upon, and have been led, as it were, by Instinct to what afterwards to me appear'd to be the Cause of the Hysterick and Hypochondriack Passions, even at a time, when I had no thought of singling out these Distempers for my more particular Study, and was only design'd for general Practice, as other Physicians are.

That the Disorders then of the Chylifications are chiefly the Cause of the Distempers in question, I shall endeavour to prove, and in order to it, desire your Attention to the following Observations. First from Anatomy we know, that abundance of Nerves end, and empty themselves in the Stomach, whose inner Coat is wholly Nervous, and yet not allow'd to have any Spontaneous Motion of its own. Secondly we are taught by daily Experience, that whatever Food is craved, and long'd for after an extraordinary manner, the same, tho' absurd, and to all appearance prejudicial, is generally well digested even in those that otherwise have but a weak Concoction. The Instances that might be produced in Big-belly'd Women, Sick people, and others, to confirm this Assertion, are innumerable. I shall only put you in mind of two remarkable ones, which I remember, I quoted about twenty Years ago in the *Thesis*, I just now spoke of. The first we have from Dr. *Tulpius*, a noted Physician in *Holland*, who has an Observation of a Woman with Child, that being prodigiously in love with Pickled Herrings, fed on them daily in great quantities, and, before her longing was satisfied, which in all probability must have lasted some Weeks, had eaten Fourteen Hundred without receiving the least Injury by them.

Misom. A very good Observation for a *Dutchman*, for this *Tulpius* I think was likewise a Burgo-Master of *Amsterdam*.⁹⁸

Phil. He was so, and an honest pains-taking practical Physician, which is as great a Character. The other is to be found in *Platerus*, who relates, that a Girl of about Seventeen had so depraved and perverse an Appetite, as not only to fancy but likewise to eat an Onion, that in the time of a raging Plague, after having been applied to a Pestilential Boil, and being blacken'd and putrified by the poisonous Exhalations, was thrown down by the Fire-side. The Girl, says he, received no Hurt, and remain'd free from that Disease otherwise so Contagious.⁹⁹

Next to Experience, I shall make use of what is the result of it, the Testimony of *Hippocrates*, who in one of his Aphorisms tells us, that Aliments, which our Appetite stands enclined to, are far better digested, than those we don't fancy.

From these Anatomical and Practical Observations I conclude first, that if the Animal Spirits, which the Stomach is continually furnish'd with through the innumerable little Nerves, that discharge themselves there, do not wholly compose (which yet nobody can disprove) the Stomachick Ferment, *Menstruum*, or what you please to call it, by virtue of which our Aliments are digested, they at least make a

^a *Of a depraved Chylification.*

^b *The Head of the University for one Year.*

considerable, and the most essential part of it. Secondly, that some of the Spirits, that help to constitute the Ferment, are of a greater Subtilty, and more refin'd than the rest that serve only for Musculary Motions, and other Actions of force.

Misom. [(a) *Syrus cum non sis, ne Syrissa.* You speak against *Hypotheses*, and now you make a Supposition of your own, upon a Supposition of others. How do you know that there are Animal Spirits at all? The Nerves, through which they are supposed to flow, are not hollow, made like Pipes, as Arteries, Veins, Lympheducts, Lacteals and other Vessels, that are contriv'd to convey Liquids. They are solid Bodies like Strings, or Cords made up of many lesser Strings: No Liquid is found in them, nor have they any Cavity to contain it. Therefore this Business of the Animal Spirits is only a Dream.

Phil. I did not expect this Objection. Many things are true that admit of no Demonstration *a Priori*. To say nothing of the minute Vessels, which by the help of Microscopes may be observ'd in the smallest Insects; that the hairs of our Head are hollow we are sure of, and that a liquid Substance must be contain'd in the least Fibres of the Muscles, the Flesh of Animals, is manifest from Cookery. That therefore the Strings of which the Nerves are composed must, like other Fibres, be likewise hollow, is more than probable. As to the Animal Spirits, which are thought to pass through those Canals, the Existence of them is a point that never was controverted. That the Blood is a Compound of various Parts very much differing from one another, and that many of these are volatile, is certain. We know likewise from Experience, that Steams and Vapours will be raised from all Liquids, especially when they are perceptibly warm, whenever that Separation is not hinder'd and made impracticable. If we consider these Facts, as well as the porous texture of most Parts in living Animals, and the Minuteness of some capillary Vessels, it is hardly to be conceived, that somewhere or other the finest Particles of the Blood should not be strain'd or otherwise separated from the rest of its Mass: If we add to this what we know from Ebriety, and intoxicating Liquors, from reviving Medicines in Lypothomys and Fainting: If, I say, we add what Experience teaches us concerning all those things, that taken inwardly palpably affect the Head and Nerves, we shall be forced to conclude, that many things are transacted in the Brain, that could not possibly be perform'd but by means of volatile Particles originally derived from the Blood. At least it is inconceivable to human Understanding, that it should be otherwise.

Misom. As to several things, I believe you may be in the right: But there are others again, as Pain and Sensation in general, where I can solve the *Phænomena*, and which I can account for better, by conceiving the Nerves as so many Strings or Cords, straitly braced, in which the Motion imprest on one End is immediately communicated to the other: I can, I say, solve the *Phænomena* better, when I conceive them in this manner, that I can by supposing the Existence of animal Spirits.

Phil. I don't pretend to account for the Functions of the Brain. I never heard of a System or a Philosophy that could do it. I don't argue for the Existence of Animal

^a Since you are not a *Syrus*, don't act like one. A Proverb used to warn People against appearing by their Actions what they pretend not to be, by their Words.

Spirits to solve all *Phænomena*, but from the Reasonableness and the Necessity I find, that there should be such; as when I see Smoak I conclude that there must be some Fire, tho' then it falls not under my Senses.¹⁰⁰

Misom. But you do the Reverse, and conclude that there must be Smoak because there is Fire, which the brighter it is, you know, the less it serves your purpose.

Phil. Where there is Fire there must be *Effluvia*, you shall call them what you please, but always remember that the brightest Flame is only Smoak set o' fire. That there are Animal Spirits, has been the Opinion of all ages Ancient and Modern, all Schools of Physicians, all Sects of Philosophers have agreed in this; and whatever they have differ'd in from one another, here they have been unanimous.

Misom. To all this I could easily reply, That Men have copied the same thing after one another is of little Weight, unless the first had proved the point in question: but I don't think it *tanti*. If you think that the Animal Spirits are necessary, for the Digestion of Food in general, you must let me know, what *Hypothesis* it is you side with, or at least give me an intelligible Account of what your Opinion is concerning the Whole matter, from first to last.

Phil. With all my heart. I told you before, That I follow no *Hypothesis*: And as to Concoction, there is no System divulg'd yet, in which all the Causes alledg'd for Digestion are sufficient to produce the Effects we see. Most people that have wrote on this Subject seem to have imagin'd that the concoctive Faculty, the Power of digesting Food, was pretty much alike, if not the same, in all Animals, creeping, flying, swimming, or walking. This has been of pernicious Consequence. Mens Amusements likewise and Quarrels about *Acids* and *Alkalis*, and their confining luxuriant and unfathomable Nature to the narrow Searches and hypothetical Principles of Chymists; as they have made great waste of human Sagacity in general, by putting Men upon foreign and fruitless Inquiries, so in this Particular they have been a great hindrance to that Knowledge, that can only be acquir'd by judicious Observation and a close Attendance on the thing itself. The more Experiments we have made concerning Concoction in Creatures different from us in Nature, as well as Structure and animal *Æconomy*, the more we have always been puzzled, what to think of it in human Bodies; and the nearer we have arrived to the Knowledge of that digestive Power in other Animals, the further we have always been carried off from understanding it in our selves. When we look into the vast Variety of Art, which Nature has display'd in the Formation of Animals of all sorts, it can only be Inattention not to behold at the same time the Multiplicity of different Means she makes use of to compass the same End. What she has thought fit to perform by Trituration in one Species of Creatures, she may do as well in another by an adapted Ferment, and in a third perhaps for the same purpose she makes use of both.

Misom. You dislike all *Hypotheses*, and at the same time you find fault with Anatomical Observations and the dissecting of all sorts of Animals. At this rate (a) *Nec currimus nec remigamus*.

^aWe neither run nor row; a Proverb used, when we take great Pains without advancing or getting Ground.

Phil. Pardon me: The fault I find is not with the Observations, or any Experiments of the Curious, but with the Applications that are made of them, and the Consequences that have often been drawn from them. I have nothing to say against a Man, who from what he observes in Fishes should conclude, that the Concoction in some Creatures may be perform'd without any perceptible Heat; but I would blame him, if from thence he should infer, that the Warmth of the *Viscera* did contribute nothing to the Digestion in human Stomachs. I don't discommend Dr. *Musgrave* for making Experiments on the mucuous Substance in the Stomach of a Jack, or his mixing a Solution of Sublimate with some Part of it, and Syrup of Violets with another. I think my self obliged to him for his curious Observation of the large bed of Glands in the same Stomach; and it is very probable, that the digestive Ferment is separated from the Blood by means of those Glands, in that Fish: But I think he was in the wrong for insinuating, that from those Facts we ought to conclude, that the Food in all Creatures is digested by a volatile *Alkali*, and that there is no acid *Menstruum* in our Stomachs, Acids have the same Effect; Pot-ashes and even the sharpest and most caustic *Alkaly's* are not more penetrating, or more capable of consuming and breaking the Texture of Bodies, than Oil of Vitriol, *Aqua-fortis*, and several other acid Spirits.

Misom. Then whatever it is in other Animals, you think, that an acid ferment is the chief Cause of Concoction in us?

Phil. I don't say so. What nature the *Menstruum* is of, that causes or rather helps Digestion in us, I don't pretend to determine; but, that there must be something analogous to a Ferment in our Stomachs, I conclude from the Impossibility there is, that Heat or muscular Motion, either jointly or separately should, without other Help, perform every thing, that may be observed concerning Concoction in our selves.

Misom. I can form no Idea of that Motion of the Stomach and Guts, that should be anyways capable of bruising and breaking the Meat to pieces. If it was very forcible it would be troublesome, or at least we should feel it; and if it was inconsiderable, it could not be of that Efficacy.

Phil. We ought to be cautious, how we judge of and pronounce on these Matters. Every *Systole* is a strong and forcible Compression of the Heart, and the Blood's rushing into it is a violent Motion, yet we perceive nothing of either. That a Motion is communicated to the Stomach by the Diaphragm is undeniable; and it is not easie to determine, what Efficacy even a small Force may be of in time, that is repeated above three thousand times in an Hour, as that is. (a) *Gutta cavat lapidem*.

Misom. If the Gills in Fishes supply the Place of Lungs, they must likewise communicate a Motion to the Stomach in them.

Phil. And without doubt they do.

^aA Drop hollows a Stone. *The Beginning of a very trite Proverb; denoting the great Efficacy of a small Force when it is often repeated.*

[The full Latin proverb is "Gutta cavat lapidem, non vi, sed sæpe cadendo." A drop hollows a stone, not by force but by falling repeatedly].

Misom. Sharks often bite off large Limbs of Men; and can you conceive, how an human Thigh-bone should be consum'd, in any reasonable time, by muscular Motion, in the soft Belly of a Fish?

Phil. Why may not a penetrating *Menstruum*, like that which Dr. *Musgrave* observed in the Stomach of a Jack, perform the greatest part of the Digestion in them, and the Motion of the Muscles be only assisting to it?

Misom. But *Leeuwenhoeck* is of Opinion, that the Motion communicated by the Gills of the Stomach and Guts of the Fishes is sufficient to perform the Digestion in them, without the Assistance of any acid Juice; by which he seems to exclude all *Menstruums* whatever.¹⁰¹

Phil. Dr. *Musgrave's* Observation, mentioned just now, weighs more with me, than any Man's Opinion without Proof. The Experiments he made, and the Bed of Glands he observed, may give us a great Insight into the manner of Digestion in Jacks and Pikes; and perhaps in that of Sharks; but we ought to draw no Inferences from it in Animals of another Make; and quite another Nature. When we see Creatures differ immensely from one another in the Structure of their inward, as well as outward Parts, why should we look for a greater Analogy between them in their animal Economy? I have seen a Cormorant swallow the raw Head of a Turkey with a considerable part of the Neck, Feathers and all, and I am persuaded, that the Turkey's Head was very near, if not fully, as big as that of the Devourer: From this, and what I saw besides of the Creature, I have reason to think, that a Cormorant is as ravenous, as a Jack or any Shark can be: But when we consider the vast Difference between their inward Parts and the Structure of them; it would be ridiculous to conclude, that the Cause or Causes of Concoction were the same in both.

Misom. If in any Creatures the Meat is bruised and broken to pieces by Force and muscular Motion, it is in Birds, at least such as our common Poultry, Fowls, Pigeons, Ducks, &c. That the great *Harvey* was most conversant with them is evident, and I believe, that from what he observed in them it was, that he supposed Digestion in general to be performed by Trituration. Here (I mean in Birds) several things concur, that seem to favour that Conjecture. Their Meat is generally hard, and swallow'd whole: Their Crops, into which it descends, are only Store-houses in which their Food is laid up, 'till the Stomach wants it.

Phil. They are Repositories, in which their Food is not only kept 'till the Stomach is ready for it, but likewise steep'd and macerated in the mean time.

Misom. But it is not broken or bruised before it comes into the Stomach, which takes in no greater Quantity of it at once, than it is able to squeeze and grind. Their Stomachs, or, as they are commonly called, Gizards, are strong and solid, and the Fibres of them firm beyond any other in their Bodies. The Gravel, coarse Sand, and small Stones, that are continually found in their Gizards, and are never voided undigested, seem likewise to be fit Instruments to assist in such an Operation. To all these might be added another Circumstance in favour of the *Hypothesis*, which I don't remember any body has taken notice of yet.

Phil. What is that, pray?

Misom. It is an Observation I have made on that Part of the Stomach, which in drawing of a Fowl is separated from the Gizzard, and flung away with the Guts. This

inward Coat, which holds and immediately embraces the Contents of the Stomach, is of a very peculiar Substance; for when it is dry'd by a gentle Heat it is neither tough nor stringy, as Flesh and Skin commonly are, but it is brittle, and so hard, that to beat it to a fine Powder requires very near as much Labour, as it does to beat Crabs Eyes, Pearl, or Jesuits Bark. I came to know this casually from a Tenant of mine, who made use of this Powder for the Gravel and, as he told me, not without Success.

Phil. This old Woman's Medicine, tho' in many Cases it fails, is not so despicable, as some People have imagin'd. But you'll pardon me, if I cannot find any Reason for the Inference you would draw from your Observation. It hints to us, I own, that there is something very particular in the Substance of this inward Coat; but the Hardness you speak of proves nothing, that can be of use to the *Hypothesis* of Trituration: For, tho' this Membrane be hard and brittle, when it is dry'd, it never is so till then. To find out the Use of Parts, and the Fitness of them for such or such Functions, in living Creatures, we ought to judge of them from what they are in their natural State, and, as near as we can, from what they are whilst they yet perform those Functions. When the Gizard is drawn from a Fowl, this Membrane is soft and pliable, and the Substance of this inner Coat is so remarkably loose in the Stomach of an Ostrich, that Dr. *Brown* and others have compar'd it to Flannel; in an Ostrich, I say, the very Bird, that of all others is most fam'd for digesting things that are hard.¹⁰²

Misom. This, I own, is a terrible Blow to Trituration. A Mill lined with Flannel would make sad Work: Yet a little while ago you allow'd, that Nature might perform Digestion by that means.

Phil. I do so still; and did not alledge the loose Substance of this inward Coat as an Objection to the *Hypothesis* you speak of, but I mention'd it, that you might lay no further Stress upon the Hardness of that Membrane when it is dry'd. I don't think that the Looseness of this Coat would be an Obstacle or the least Hindrance to Trituration in the Stomach of Birds, in the manner in which only I can conceive it to be possible. Trituration in a Mill requires, and indeed implies, two Substances both harder than what is ground between them: therefore that there cannot be the least Analogy between a Mill, and the Stomach of any living Creature, is demonstrable. But many things, tho' they are pretty hard, may easily be made to bruise and break one another, if with some Violence you shake and jumble them together in a Bag: Now I am perswaded, that the more supple and pliable the Bag is, and the looser its Substance, the less it will suffer from the Motion or the Roughness of the hard things, that are jumbled together in it.

Misom. But you must allow, that the looser and lighter the Substance of it is, the sooner the Bag will be worn out.

Phil. In all Manufactures, that are made of the same Materials, there is no doubt, but what is loose and slight is not so strong as that which is more substantial. But in the thing before us we are altogether in the dark. We know nothing of the Materials, the Strength and Properties of the Stuff, which that loose Substance in the Stomach of an Ostrich is composed of; for how nearly soever it may resemble Flannel, in several respects, we are sure that it is not made of Wool.

Nature, in the Formation of Animals, has no where display'd a more impenetrable Skill than in the peculiar Texture of the different Vessels, Membranes, and Fibres, that occur in the Fabrick of the same Creatures. There are Properties that belong to, and are as it were woven in the Substance of them, which human Sagacity could never have discovered *a Priori*, and that in several, each of them has been fitted to that particular purpose only, which it is to serve, we know no otherwise than by Experience *a Posteriori*. People in Health are as easy at least after their Meals as they are before them; yet the hundredth Part of what is not felt at all in the Stomach, would cause exquisite Tortures in the Bladder.

Misom. I have many times brought up a sour Stuff so corrosive, that in only passing through, it actually flead my Throat and Mouth, and yet I was not sensible of its Sharpness whilst it remain'd in my Stomach. But it was requisite that the Organs of Taste should be very nicely wrought.

Phil. No Part of us is more sensible than the Stomach: In Gouts and Rheumatisms there are often Pains felt in that *Viscus*, not less excruciating, than those of the Stone; and what is very agreeable to the Palate often proves as unpleasant to the Stomach. All that can be said of this is, that the Inside of the Stomach is made for one Purpose, and the Inside of the Mouth for another. Nothing is less offensive to the latter than the *Saliva*; the Taste of it is imperceptible to the nicest Palates: Yet this *Menstruum* is so sharp and penetrating, or at least it has such a Quality, that it will separate the Body and break the Texture of Quick-silver; which by the Help of it, and nothing else but a Pestle and Mortar, may be reduced to an impalpable Powder.

It is possible that the Substance of this Membrane in the Stomach of an Ostrich should be loose and pliable, and yet the constituent Parts of the Fibres which that Substance is woven and compos'd of, have a Firmness and Solidity beyond any other Parts. Whilst the strong Muscles are grasping on all sides and mixing the Contents together, and by their constant and forcible Compressions, make the Parts of the hard Food continually rub against and grind one another, I can easily conceive, how such a passive Membrane might be a proper Fence to interpose between the hard and stubborn Parts of the Contents, and the tender Fibres of the Muscles, to which the immediate Touch of whatever is rough or sharp would be offensive and intolerable; and I don't think it improbable, that a Membrane of such a peculiar Substance should be thus expos'd, and yet receive no Injury from the Force of either Side, any more than a Gold-beater's Skin does between the resisting Metal and the violent Strokes, that force the Gold to spread.

Misom. The Gold-beater's Skin remains always in the same Position, and is only to endure direct Blows, made perpendicularly upon a flat; whereas the Membrane, we speak of, is, according to your Description, exposed to a great Variety of Attacks from every Quarter. The Outside of it receives, and is forced to yield to, all the Pressures that in various Directions are made upon it by the ambient Muscles: The Inside of it lies open to the Force and Roughness of the resisting Contents, the Parts of which are as constantly obliged to change and shift their Situations, as they are compell'd to it by that Variety of Pressures, which the Muscles must make upon the yielding Membrane.

Phil. I intended no Comparison between them: But having given some Instances of the impenetrable Skill, which Nature has display'd in the peculiar Texture of the different Vessels, Membranes, &c. in the same Creatures, I inferr'd from thence, that a membrane of a peculiar Substance might assist in the Affair of Trituration, and yet suffer no more from its Function, than Gold-beater's Skin does from the Business which it is used in. And how little soever the Gold-beater's Skin seems to undergo, yet we may learn from it, that a Membrane may be made, even by human Skill, that can resist a Force, which a hard Metal must yield to.

But suppose this other Membrane, this inward Coat of the Stomach of Birds, should wear: our Teeth do the same; and if no Provision was made for this, they could not last as they do, but all we know of it is, that the Particles, that wear off insensibly, are as insensibly repair'd. Nature has a thousand ways of working, that we are ignorant of; and that in some Cases she makes good Losses as fast as they are sustain'd, and before they are felt, is evident from what every body may observe in a Hare. The Feet of this Creature, so remarkable for its running, are never found bare, but always beset with Fur, a thick Down at the very Bottom of them, which touches the Ground.

Misom. Trituration perhaps may be perform'd in the manner you speak of: But the more every thing observable in Birds confirms us in the Opinion, that in them the Meat is broken to pieces and made into Chyle by force and grinding, the more we ought to be convinced, that in Creatures, where the same *Phænomena* do not appear, muscular Motion has nothing to do with their Concoction. Whatever we eat at a Meal must all be contain'd at once in the same *Viscus* in which it is to be digested: The Coats of an human Stomach are thin and slight; and tho' it may be divided into several Membranes, and the second forsooth is call'd muscular, the whole is of a weak slender Substance, in comparison to that of the Gizards in Birds. If we swallow Pebbles, or any the least Stones, those of Grapes or Gooseberries not excepted, they are not digested, but come away whole and unalter'd.

Phil. You need not spend any Time to prove to me, that Concoction is not perform'd in our Stomachs by Trituration; I always thought it absurd to imagine it. There are many Actions, that all contribute to the Concoction of our Food; but without the Help of muscular Motion I should think it could no more be perform'd in us, than in other Creatures, whose Stomachs are more strong and solid. The hardest Labour belonging to this Function is to bruise and break the hard and tough Meat to pieces, and mixing it with the *Saliva*: This being done by Mastication, the *Menstruum* in the Stomach, whatever that be made of, is only to insinuate it self into, and further to break the Contexture of our Meat already reduced to Pulp. But in order to this, and to come at every Particle of our Food, it is necessary, that this *Menstruum* should be well mix'd and as it were beat up with the Pulp. The Share of this Performance falls partly to the Muscles that constitute the second Membrane of this *Viscus*, and partly to a Motion communicated to it by the Diaphragm, and is originally owing to Respiration; from which is likewise derived the Peristaltick Motion, that without Interruption is continued from the beginning of the *Æsophagus* to the Extremity of the *Intestinum rectum*. All these contribute to the making of the Chyle, as it is sent out of the Stomach; and from what we know of Digestion in general, it is highly probable, that this whole Process is assisted and forwarded by the Warmth of the adjacent *Viscera*.

Misom. All this I can easily assent to, nor will I further dispute with you about the Existence of the Animal Spirits; it being a long receiv'd Opinion, you shall make the most of it; but that these Animal Spirits should bear such a Sway in the Stomach, and be a considerable Part of the concoctive ferment, seems to be an arbitrary Supposition, for which I don't perceive you can have any grounds.]

Phil. Be pleased to recollect and examine what I have said, and you'll find that this is no more than a necessary Consequence of the Observations already mentioned, [*viz.* the great number of Nerves, that end and open in the Stomach, and the considerable Influence, which Appetite and Aversion, our Liking or Disliking our Food, have upon Digestion.] When once we have laid a Foundation, and have some Certainty to build our Arguments upon, it is then that we may make use of our rational Faculty; for it is impossible, that keeping to the strict Rules of reasoning we should err in our Conclusions, if we draw them only from what we know to be true. [But then it is to be consider'd, that human Knowledge can only come *a posteriori*. You'll give me Leave to trace it from the Beginning; and I'll be content to start with Monsieur *Descartes*, and at my first setting out to doubt of every thing. Now as Doubting must always imply thinking, and it is impossible that I should perceive the first without being confident of the latter,] I take this his Metaphysical Principle, (a) *Cogito, ergo sum*, to be a very Just one; because it is the first Truth of which a Man can be well sure: [and if from our being conscious that we think, we may not safely conclude that we exist, then we can be certain of nothing. The next thing to be enquir'd into is, what it is, which Part of us, that performs this Operation, this Act of Thinking. But here, I know very well from what you advanced Yesterday, concerning our Ignorance, as to all Properties of Matter, I shall not be able to assert any thing, strictly speaking, without Supposition.

Misom. Yesterday I was in a gay sprightly Humour; and when I have those intervals of Ease, I am (b) in *Adonidis Hortis*, more pleas'd with Sallies of the Imagination and airy Flourishes, than grave Reasoning, and solid Doctrine: But I desire you would not take those Flights of Fancy for my real and settled Sentiments. That mere Matter cannot think is a receiv'd Opinion, and an Axiom which I am neither able nor willing to refute.

Phil. If Matter cannot think, we may justly conclude, that we consist of a Soul and a Body.] How they reciprocally work upon and affect one another, 'tis true, we cannot tell, and whether the Soul be seated in some particular part of, or is diffus'd through all the Brain, the Blood, or the whole Body, is likewise not easie to be determined: But tho' these things are mysterious to us, yet from the Experience we have of our Composition, and what every moment we may feel within our selves, we can assert not only, that there must be an immediate Commerce between the Body and the Soul; but likewise that the Action of Thinking in which all, what we know of the latter, consists, is to our certain Knowledge perform'd more in the Head than it is in the Elbow of the Knee: From this we may further conclude, that as the Soul acts not

^a *I think; therefore I exist.*

^b In the Gardens of Adonis. A Proverb used when Men take delight in things that are soon fading, and more pleasant than profitable.

immediately upon Bone, Flesh, Blood, &c. nor they upon that, so there must be some exquisitely small Particles, that are the (a) *Internuncii* between them, by the help of which they manifest themselves to each other.

Misom. All these latter Conclusions I grant: The *Internuncii*, you speak of, are the Animal Spirits, and that they are the intermediate Officers between the Soul and the grosser Parts of the Body we'll allow; but that the Spirits, which help to compose the stomachick Ferment, should be of a finer Sort than those by whose Assistance the musculary Motions and other Actions of Force are perform'd, is not only a Supposition, but in my Opinion, a strangely odd one, that has not a Shadow of Reason or Probability in it.

Phil. Do you think it a natural Consequence from what we know of all manner of filtrating, or straining, that some of the animal Spirits must infinitely differ from others in Fineness and Subtility?

Misom. I think we can determine nothing with any Certainty about their Bulk or Shape, as long as we are ignorant both of the Manner in which they are separated from the Blood, and the Figure of the Pores through which they are to pass, and don't know, whether they are transcolated through the Brain from the arterial Blood carried thither, or made by Exhalation from the whole Mass.

Phil. [If animal Spirits have any Existence at all, (which you have granted)] let them be made after what manner you can suppose, and the Pores thro' which they pass be of what Figure you shall please to imagine them; so they be but separated from the Blood, or other Juices, which it is certain they are, the same must happen to them, which is observed in all lesser Particles that are Segregated from any Mass or Composition whatsoever, whether they be sifted, strain'd, or evaporated, unless you'll deny that Nature is always the same.

How vast is the Difference between the Particles, that in the form of Smoak are separated by Fire from all combustible Matters! How even and uniform does the finest sifted Sand appear to our naked View, and yet if we look upon a small Quantity of it thro' a Microscope, we shall observe not only a prodigious Variety of Shapes, but likewise innumerable Degrees from seemingly great Pebbles to the smallest Atoms, in the Bigness of the Parts that compose it: The same Difference in proportion we should find in the Magnitude, as well Figure of Parts in Dust, or Powders reduced to the most impalpable (b) *Alcohol*, if we had better Glasses and could arm our Eyes more strongly.¹⁰³

Misom. But tho' I should grant that among the Animal Spirits there are many Degrees of Subtility, yet I cannot see, whence it must follow, that some of those which help to constitute the Stomachick Ferment should be of a finer sort, than others, that serve for more ignoble Functions.

Phil. Would it not be unreasonable to surmise, that the Spirits, which are immediately employ'd in the Act of Thinking should not be more subtle than those, that continually extend the several Muscles of our Legs and Thighs in walking?

^a *Messengers.*

^b *A Name given to a Powder or to a Spirit of the greatest Fineness.*

Misom. If matter could be capable of Thought, there would be great Occasion for the Subtilization of the Spirits, I confess, to refine them to such a pitch; but sure you forget, that Thought is wholly incorporeal, and is perform'd by the Soul it self.

Phil. I have asserted already, that the Soul consists in Thinking, of which Matter is incapable, and do not say the Spirits that Think, but the Spirits that are employed in the Act of Thinking: We must consider the Soul as a skilful Artificer, whilst the Organs of the Body are her Tools; for as the Body and its most minute Spirits are wholly insignificant, and cannot perform that Operation, which we call thinking, without the Soul, more than the Tools of an Artificer can do any thing without his Skill, so the Soul cannot exert her self without the Assistance of the Organick Body, more than the Artificer's Skill can be put in execution without the Tools.

Misom. How then can the Soul, whose Essence consists in Thinking, continue after she shall be separated from the Body?

Phil. This I confess is very mysterious; and whatever the Subtily of some acute Philosophers may pretend to, it is utterly incomprehensible, that when the Body is dead Thought should remain.¹⁰⁴ [When we consider the Organs of our different Senses, through which all our Knowledge must be convey'd to us, and how absolutely necessary the Brain is, in the Act of Thinking, to such Creatures as we are, it must be as contradictory to human Reason, that any Part of Man should continue to think, when his Body is dead and motionless; as that a Musician, whom we see and hear play upon the Violin, should continue to make the same Sounds, when he has no Instrument at all; and I can as easily conceive the Stars without a Sky, as memory without a Brain.] But as it is very immaterial to our Business in hand, what the Soul, abstract from the Body, shall be capable of in that State, of which we know so little, so let us at this time consider this incorporeal Being no farther,¹⁰⁵ than as it comes within our Reach, and being allied with Matter, becomes Part of our Composition; And then, I say, that whilst the strict Union that is between the Body and the Soul lasts, and they continue to be, as it were, a Mixture, the latter cannot act without the Assistance of the first: For tho' our Thoughts be never so elevated or metaphysical, we cannot form them without Ideas of Words, Things, or joint Notions, and Thinking only consists in a various Disposition of Images received before.¹⁰⁶

Misom. Then you would have this variously disposing of the Images to be the Work of the Spirits, that act under the Soul, as so many Labourers under some great Architect.

Phil. I would so: And reflecting on what is transacted within us, it seems to me a very diverting Scene to think, when we strive to recollect something that does not then occur; how nimbly those volatile Messengers of ours will beat through all the Paths, and hunt every Enclosure of the Brain, in quest of the Images we want; and when we have forgot a Word or Sentence, which yet we are sure our memory, the great Treasury of Images, has once been charged with, we may almost feel, how some of the Spirits flying through all the *Mazes* and *Meanders* rummage the whole Substance of the medullary Labyrinth, whilst others ferret through the inmost recesses of it with so much Eagerness and Labour, that the Difficulty they meet with sometimes makes us uneasie, and they often bewilder themselves in their Search, 'till at last they light by chance on the Image that contains what they look'd for, or

else picking it up, as it were, by Piece-meal from the dark Caverns of Oblivion, represent what they can find of it to our Imagination.¹⁰⁷

Misom. I hope you'll conclude nothing from this volatile Economy of the Brain, of your own making?

Phil. I don't intend it, and only hinted at the most exquisite Functions of the Spirits, that the Nicety of the Performance and the Swiftiness of the Execution might convince you of the transcendent Subtility of those airy velocious Agents, the chief and immediate Ministers of Thought; that officiating between the Soul and grosser Spirits of the Senses have always Access to her invisible self.

After this, I shall put you in mind of two things, which the Knowledge we have of our selves, and common Experience, will suffer no body to be ignorant of. The first is, that when we see, or hear others discourse of things that are hasty and we abhor, the very thinking on them shall give us Qualms, and cause some People to vomit, that are of a delicate Contexture. The second is, that, tho' we are in perfect Health, and have what we call a very good Stomach, the receiving of any surprising News, that nearly concerns us, either a very joyful, or an unwelcome Message, shall damp our Appetite, and in an instant take away the craving Desire we had to eat. From these and the other Observations cited before, I think it is evident, that the Office of the Stomach is very much influenced by Thought it self, and consequently the Spirits employed in this Ministry are of the finest sort, which is all I was to prove.

[*Misom.* I understand you perfectly well: But this Ministry of the Spirits, and the whole Foundation you build upon, is altogether hypotheticalal.

Phil. Pardon me; what I build upon is the Observations, by which I am convinced, that there is such a Communication and Agreement, such an extraordinary *Consensus* between the Brain and the Stomach, without entering into an *Hypothesis*, what Instruments this is perform'd by: Whenever that Power is tired or exhausted by the Labour of the Brain, the Stomach suffers. But as the Animal Spirits are generally consider'd as the Instruments of Motion and Feeling, and Attendants on the Nerves, I make use of this Expression without pretending to determine what is the Cause of that Action, that Motion or Effect. I have told you all along, that solving *Phænomena* and reasoning from an *Hypothesis* was not my Talent: Therefore, whether there really are, or are not Animal Spirits, such as are generally allowed, I make use of the Name to express the Instruments of Motion and sense; or whether the Nerves perform this by any Motion undiscoverable by us, or by any Juice or Steam, or Spirit of *Æther*, or whatever it be. What I am sure of, and what (as I told you before) I build upon is, that the Stomach, the Appetite and Concoction of it, is influenced in a more than ordinary manner by that Part of us which thinks.] The Kidnies, Liver, *Pancreas*, and all the *Viscera*, but especially the Spleen and Mesentery, have many Nerves derived to them from the Brain; and yet we are not sensible, that our Thoughts make the least Impression upon any of their Functions; the Heart indeed seems influenced by Thoughts, when the Soul is moved by some Excess of Passion, yet this never happens without great Perturbation of the Spirits in general; but when our Mind is calm, and we can think sedately, none of our Inwards are so nice as to be affected in their Operations by the same Images that influence the Soul, but only

the Stomach and the Organs of Generation; as if Nature, by the extraordinary Commerce she has contriv'd between the Soul and those Parts, would shew us that they are the most noble of the whole Body; the latter being as highly necessary to continue the Species, as the first is to preserve every individual Person.

Misom. I doubt you confound the Operations of the Soul with the Animal Functions which we have in common with the Brutes: The Organs of Generation not being subject to the Will, act often in despite of our rational Soul, and the lustful Thoughts, that excite disorderly Motions in them, are the Effects of Concupiscence and the Flesh, and therefore called Carnal.

Phil. If you are of Opinion, that there is but one Soul, the Thoughts I speak of, which you are pleas'd to call Carnal, must of necessity belong to that one, notwithstanding all its Rationality; because, as we said before, Matter cannot think; but if you state a Plurality of Souls, the worst of 'em will serve my purpose; and let those Thoughts be the Act or the Effect of the Animal, Sensitive, or what Soul you please, we shall never differ about it: For thus much I know, that for all the Operations perform'd within us, the most elevated and refined is Thinking: From whence I conclude, First, That those Parts that are influenced by mere thinking are without doubt the nicest. And, Secondly, That the Spirits that are the *internuncii*, between that immaterial Thinking Substance, and those Parts, are none of the coarsest, and this is all I shall say upon the Matter; for I have no mind to engage in any Disputes about the Soul.

Misom. From what you have said I am very well satisfied, that the Volatilization, and greatest Efficacy of the Stomachick Ferment depends upon the Animal Spirits, and am likewise convinced, that continual thinking spends abundance of those Spirits, and consequently is apt to rob the Ferment of its Due; but I cannot see why you should take such extraordinary pains to prove, that the Spirits employ'd in those Offices are of greater Subtility than others. I cannot apprehend, what Benefit your Assertion is to receive from what you lay so great a Stress upon; I'll readily allow that the Deficiency of the Animal Spirits may very reasonably cause Crudities, and it is perhaps not improbable, that some of the Spirits constituting the Ferment, which seems to be influenced by mere thinking,¹⁰⁸ should be of the finer Sort; but why will you insist so much upon this latter?

Phil. Because the wasting of the coarser Spirits does not produce the same, but quite contrary Effects: Exercise, which without doubt makes a great Consumption in the Animal Spirits, not only creates Appetite and helps Digestion, but likewise removes Obstructions, invigorates the Blood, and strengthens the whole Body. Daily Experience teaches us that none are more healthy, *ceteris paribus*,¹⁰⁹ than your labouring People that come home weary every Night, and consequently have much exhausted their Spirits. From this we may safely conclude, that the coarser Spirits, when once they are separated from the Blood, by remaining in the Body contract a Sourness, or some other ill Quality, which I don't pretend to determine; for which reason Exercise is so necessary to all People that use a plentiful and nutritious Diet, that by the musculary Motions, the Spirits, which from their Blood are separated in great abundance, may be shook off and eliminated before they can prove prejudicial.

The Reason then why I insist upon the Difference in the Degrees of Spirits, which naturally flows from their being made by Separation, is very manifest from the Cure as well as Cause of Hysterick and Hypochondriack Diseases: For if the Spirits were of equal Subtility would it not be ridiculous, first to accuse the Deficiency of 'em, and immediately after prescribe Exercise, which is palpable will exhaust them more? and yet that every Body blames the Defect of Spirits, and likewise orders Exercise in these Distempers, is not to be contradicted.

Misom. What you say is certainly the greatest Error that ever was broach'd in Physick. [(a) *Toto cælo erras.*] Exercise never was recommended, because it should, consume or dissipate the Spirits, but because the Motion of the Muscles is known to contribute much to the Volatilization of the Blood, and its being thick and torpid hinders the Separation of the Spirits, that are lock'd up in its Mass, and, as it were, imprison'd by its Viscidity. Great Epicures generally take care to have a Vent for their Spirits, tho' otherwise they stir but little, and yet they are often fill'd with gross Humours, which cannot be attributed but to the Want of such Exercise and muscular Motion, as by agitating the Blood, would promote all the necessary Separations that should be made from its Mass.

Phil. I do not deny, that Exercise and muscular Motion are assisting the Volatilization of the Blood, but this does not hinder their consuming abundance of the Animal Spirits. As to the Spirits being shut up by the Viscidity of the Blood, I know it is the Opinion of a great many Modern Physicians; but it is an extravagant Supposition, very inconsistent with the Volatility that must of necessity belong even to the grossest of those Particles, that can come under the Denomination of Spirits. But I hate to reason after this wandering manner, where Nature cannot be my Guide: Our shallow Understandings will never penetrate into the Structure of Parts of that amazing as well as mysterious Composition, the Mass of Blood; and therefore let us not launch out into any further Disputes about that incomprehensible Mixture, or assert any more of it, than what Observation will allow us.

Misom. Good *Philopirio*, no Evasions, by way of Cant: If you can destroy that Supposition, do, otherwise don't speak against it.

Phil. If you would have me shew you the falsity of it, I must first ask you, Whether you don't think that there are more nutritious Particles, and consequently Spirits, in the tender Flesh of Animals, than in your (b) *fructus horarii*, or Roots, Coleworts, Butter-milk, and even Bread it self? If so, I leave all the World to judge, whether it is reasonable to suppose, that Aliments consisting of volatile, supple, balsamick Particles, that are easily divided, should fill the Blood with more gross Humours, than such as are made up of terrestrious, crude and stubborn Parts; or that the Blood compos'd of the first should more imprison the Spirits, than that which is made of the latter. Besides, that great Part of the Spirits is made before the Chyle enters into the Blood, not only after it has past the Glandules of the Intestines, and is in the lacteal Vessels of the Mesentery, but before it comes out of the Stomach.

^aA Proverb used when we think Men to be entirely in the Wrong.

^bFruits that don't keep, as Cherries, Currants, Mulberries, &c.

Misom. I believe you'll find it very difficult to prove that Assertion.

Phil. Nothing is more easie: When a labouring Man that has work'd hard is dispirited, and almost faint for want of Food, How soon is he cured by eating, before the Concoction in the Stomach can be said to begin! What is it, that so immediately restores and comforts him, but the Spirits, that are separated all along from the Aliments, not only before they are digested, but before they are swallow'd down, and refresh him in the very Act of Mastication?

Misom. That these Steams nourish, and refresh us, is demonstrable; but I don't think, that because they fly up to the Brain, they are presently to be call'd Animal Spirits.

Phil. With the same Right as the Chyle is call'd Blood as soon as it is mix'd with its Mass; tho' before either of them are perfected, there is more required than most People imagine. It is a very pitiful Notion which the generality of Philosophers and Physicians have of the Animal Spirits; as if they were only some distinct, uniform, small globulous Particles, that without Coherence or Dependence upon one another move together in Company; when it is almost visible to the Eye of Reason, that what we call the Animal Spirits is a Composition of various Parts, that has a Tone, Crasis, and due Consistency belonging to it, no less than the Blood. When I have reflected on these things, and how much there might be said of them, that is yet untouch'd, I have often wonder'd, that the great Lovers of Supposition, in this our reasoning Age, have not from the Exuberancy of their Fancies given us whole Systems and *Hypotheses* of the Mixture of Parts, that the Set or Mass of Animal Spirits must of necessity consist of; which might have been less ridiculous than the Pretence of mechanically explaining their Motions.

Misom. Then don't you think all the Operations of the Body to be mechanical?

Phil. Yes; and not only so, but I believe the same of all the Works of Nature. I believe Men may give Reasons for the Structure of animal Bodies, and speak mechanically of the Shape as well as Motions of the Muscles, and their Antagonists, and of a great many other things that fall under our Senses; but I believe likewise, that when we are so wholly ignorant of the Figure and Magnitude of Parts, and as unacquainted with the Vessels that contain them, as we are of, and with, the Spirits and the Brain, it is impossible to enter into the Mechanism of them, at least so far as to determine their Motions to *an Angle of Incidence*; more especially, when we know them to be so minute and volatile, that to some of them our very Bones are pervious. There are no doubt certain Rules in Nature why a Horse comes to his full Growth always in six Years, and a Man hardly in one and twenty.¹¹⁰ If we could undress Nature, and penetrate into the first Elements of her, we might perhaps give Reasons for those things, but before we can do that I shall always laugh at the Ignorance and Vanity of those that pretend to it.

Misom. [What you say, or at least the Substance of it, I have read in *Sydenham*:¹¹¹ Yet it is the general Opinion, and I have heard it from Gentlemen of your own Profession, that without some Knowledge in *Algebra* and *Geometry* it is impossible a Man should be a tolerable Physician. I beg your Pardon for saying so much, without knowing whether you understand the Mathematicks or not, tho' I don't question but you do.¹¹²

Phil. Indeed, *Misomedon*, I do not. When I was very young I had a Master in *Euclid*, who made me run through the first six Books of his *Elements* in less than a Quarter of a Year: But this Study seeming to me at that time a very dry Business, I gave little heed to what I was about; and not having apply'd my self to it since, I don't remember much more of those six Books than if I had never seen them.

Misom. You know the Proverb, (a) *Ars non habet inimicum nisi ignorantem.*

Phil. The great Benefits and extraordinary Services, which the Civil Society and Mankind have on innumerable Accounts receiv'd from the Science we speak of, are so manifest and so glaringly conspicuous, that it is impossible to live in a flourishing Nation, and to be ignorant of it: Therefore I am so far from being an Enemy to it, that I think the Mathematicks to be the most noble and most useful Study, Men of Parts can apply themselves to; and that in worldly Affairs there is no Exercise of the Mind, which Persons of the brightest Genius or the highest Quality can more worthily employ themselves in. But as to the Practice of Physick, I mean the Cure of Diseases, there is no Part of the Mathematicks that can be a greater Help, or give more Light in the Mysteries of it, than it can in those of reveal'd Religion.

Misom. Formerly I own Mathematicks were look'd upon as foreign to your Profession, but the many Discoveries that have been made in the Works of Nature, by the help of that Science, within these hundred Years, have made the World wiser; and there is hardly a Physician now, that does not seem to understand Geometry. This is certain, that the Mathematicks are recommended to all young Students in Physick, as a necessary Qualification to their Business. Is it credible, that Men of Sense and Learning, eminent Physicians themselves, should put their own Children to such an Expend of Time as well as Money, as a middling Proficiency in the Mathematicks requires, if they could be of no Service to them, especially in a Profession, where there is so much work besides, and which to perfect them in the Age of the oldest Man living is not sufficient?

Phil. I don't say that Mathematicks can be of no Service to Physicians or Divines, but that they can be of no Use to them, to give them any Insight into the Mysteries of their Callings. The grand End for which all young People are brought up to a Profession, whether it be Law, Physick or Divinity, is a good Livelihood: Therefore every thing is recommended to them, that is thought most proper to help them to Employment, the sooner the better, or can be any ways subservient to raise their Reputation and promote their Interest in the World. As Mathematicks require the greatest Attention, and no considerable Progress can be made in them in a short Time, few People before the last Century troubled their Heads about them, but mere Philosophers and such as made the Study of them their chief Business; I say before the last Century, since the Beginning of which, greater Encouragement has been given to Arts and Sciences of all sorts than they had received for several Ages before. It was then, that many People of other Professions, Gentlemen of Estates, and several Persons of Quality, began to apply themselves to this Science for Diversion; and ever since the Number of Mathematicians has very much encreas'd throughout *Europe*.

^a *Arts have no Enemies but those that are ignorant of them.*

Misom. Many things have concurr'd that have all contributed to the high Esteem, which the present Age so justly pays to the Mathematicks. From our *Philosophical Transactions* it has plainly appear'd on many Occasions, that the Powers of Nature could not be understood, or duely enquir'd into, without the Help of Mathematicks. Sir *Isaac Newton*, that great Ornament of his Age and Country, has now many Years been President of the Royal Society: His Philosophy has met with almost an universal Applause: His Discoveries concerning Light and Colours have astonish'd the World. His *Principia*, which the whole is built upon, are altogether mathematical, and cannot be thoroughly understood without a considerable Knowledge in *Algebra* and Geometry, nor made intelligible to those that are wholly ignorant of them. That those things, and the Emulation of other Nations, have all been accessary to make Mathematicks highly valued is certain; but what would you infer from the Encrease you mention'd in the Number of Mathematicians?

Phil. Nothing, but that the Study of this Science is become fashionable, and the Knowledge of it look'd upon as a necessary Qualification that Men of Letters ought to be possess'd of. Some of the politest People value themselves upon being *Philomaths*; and there are Ladies, who, by the Testimony of known and able Mathematicians, are very expert in *Algebra* and Sir *Isaac's* Fluxions.¹¹³ When once any Part of Knowledge comes to be in such Vogue, and cultivated as well as approved of by the *Beau Monde*, the Want of it becomes a Defect in a Man, that has been brought up at the University. The Reason therefore, why the Mathematicks are so highly recommended to all young Students in general, is not so much the Utility they are of in their Studies, and to understand the Business they are to follow, as that they are a modish Science, the Knowledge of which is thought to be a fine Accomplishment: Whereas to be ignorant of it is a Blemish, and look'd upon as a Defect in Education, that will hurt a Man's Character in the Opinion of the Publick. No Father, or any body else, that has young People under his Care, would suffer them to begin the World under such a Disadvantage. The first Step to gain the Favour of the Publick is to render our selves acceptable to it; and no Point is to be gain'd among any Set of People, if we will not, in some measure at least, comply with their Notions, as well as their manners.

I have known a Presbyterian Parson, a Man of Learning and good Sense, but of mean Parents and Education, go to a Dancing-master, after he was turn'd of forty. One Day I happen'd against my Will to surprize him, as he was taking a Lesson. I was sorry for the Accident, begg'd Pardon, and immediately withdrew: The next Day this Man made me a Visit; and some Chit-chat of things indifferent having pass'd between us, he told me, *That to judge superficially and from outward Appearance of what I had seen the Day before, I had sufficient Reason to think him to be an egregious Coxcomb: But pray Sir, said he, hear me a moment; and then went on thus. Hitherto I have had great Contempt for Compliments, Ceremonies and Cringes of all sorts; paid small regard to Modes and outward Shew; and always thought, that if a Man took care of what he did and what he said, it was no great matter what Attitude or Situation he chose to stand in, or which way he turn'd his Feet in walking: But I find, perhaps a little too late, that I have been in the wrong; the World thinks otherwise, and I am fully convinced now, that where graceful*

Motion and a genteel Behaviour pass for Virtues, an awkward Mien and uncouth Postures will ever be look'd upon as Vices. What I have desir'd Mr. E—x to teach me, is the fashionable Use of my Legs and Arms, to make a tolerable Bow, and to come in and go out of a Room as other People do. As for the rest, I can assure you, I have no mind to learn to dance, any more than I have to learn to fly. Having said this, he rose from his Seat, and took his Leave in these Words: *You are a Man, Sir, whose Esteem I value, or else I would not have given either you or my self this Trouble. Now think of me as you please. I am your very humble Servant.*¹¹⁴

Misom. Your Story is very diverting, and the Application as easie. You are of Opinion that the Benefit which Physicians expect from learning the Mathematicks is to ingratiate themselves with the Publick; and that they hope from it to be sooner trusted with sick People, than they would be, if it was known that they had never apply'd themselves to that Science.

Phil. The reputation of a Man's being a good Mathematician, is certainly a Feather in his Cap, and there is nothing besides that is so effectual, or a more proper Means to bring him early into Business in any Profession, but more especially in that of Physick.

Misom. Yet you think it of no Use to them in their Studies, and that they can have no Assistance from the Mathematicks in any Part of Medicine?

Phil. I desire a little more Exactness with your Leave, when you repeat my Sentiments. I have not spoke in that general manner; The Branch of Physick in which I have asserted the Study of Mathematicks to be of no Use, was the Practice it self, the Cure of Diseases. But to speak mechanically of the Structure of Animals or the Motion of the Muscles, and to calculate the Weight that is equivalent to the Force they exert, are Tasks that require mathematical Knowledge. All Fluids likewise are subject to the Laws of Hydrostaticks. The Difference there is in the Streams and Velocity of the Blood depending on the different Courses it steers, and the different Capacity of the Vessels that contain it; the arterial Blood running through Canals that are large at the Beginning, and are always growing less and less; the Venal, on the contrary, running from very small Vessels into large ones that are continually widening; All these and many other Curiosities occurring in the animal Œconomy, are demonstrable by the Help of Mathematicks, and cannot be explain'd or exactly known without them. Besides, there is nothing that falls under the Senses, of which the Quantity, Figure, Number or Magnitude can be known, that Enquiries may not be made into, and Conclusions drawn from, not to be attempted without mathematical Knowledge. I have often been vex'd at the Want of it in my self, and am well assur'd that I have lost abundance of Pleasure, which I should have enjoyed, if I had been well versed in that Science. I can likewise easily conceive, why the Study of it to those, who once have a Notion of, and take pains about it, must be so diverting and bewitching as it actually is to many.

Misom. How can a Man conceive that, who understands nothing of it?

Phil. Because I know the End attain'd by it, the Result of it, which is always Truth. In *Dutch* it is call'd *Wiskonst*, which signifies, the *Sure Art*, or, the *Art of Certainty*.¹¹⁵ There is nothing so amiable, or so generally beloved as Truth, whether Men be good or bad; and no body would ever tell a Lye, if he was sure, or but

imagin'd, that what he aims at, and can expect from it, would be equally obtain'd by speaking Truth. Whoever understands our Nature must be able to conceive, why nothing should be more charming to human Creatures than searching after Truth, where the Reward is Infallibility and an Assurance of being in the Right. Every Question a Man learns to solve in *Algebra*, every Problem he finds out in Geometry and becomes Master of by Skill and Labour, Self-love bids him value beyond any thing of an Inheritance; and he looks upon his Knowledge as a Possession of his own acquiring, the Product of his Industry, and an unperishable Treasure, which no body can rob him of. It is this Certainty likewise of the Mathematicks, or at least the Reputation of it, that makes the Science so highly esteem'd even by those that know nothing of it; especially when it is to be introduced into an Art, that seems to stand very much in need of it. Every Man of Humanity, every Lover of his Kind must be overjoyed and extremely delighted, when he hears that the Practice of Physick may be built on mathematical Principles; that what has only been conjectural is now made capable of Demonstration; and that now Physicians may be sure of removing many Pains and Diseases, the Cure of which had hitherto been precarious and uncertain.

Misom. I have made use of Physicians my self, that understood, or at least were thought to understand, the Mathematicks, but I found them no more infallible than other People: So far I own I must side with you. But the Scheme of bringing Mathematicks into the Art of medicine is not of many Years standing yet. The *Newtonian* Philosophy, which I believe has in great measure been the Occasion of the Attempt, was not made publick before the latter End of the last Century: And considering the vast Extent the Art of Physick is of, both as to Diseases incident to human Bodies, and the Medicines that are made use of, great length of time must be required before an entire System can be form'd, that shall be applicable to all Cases, and by the Help of which, Men shall be able to explain all *Phænomena* that may occur, and solve all the Difficulties and Objections that may be made.

Phil. A Man of Wit and good Parts, that has a little smatt'ring of the *Newtonian* Philosophy, is seldom at a Loss now, to solve almost any *Phænomena*. To talk of those things plausibly, is the easiest thing in the World; but to foretell all that shall happen in an acute Fever, is another matter.

Misom. *Rome* was not built in a Day, (a) *Operi incipienti favendum*. If the Mathematicks have already been brought with Success into a considerable Part of the Theory of Physick, as you seem to own yourself, why may not the same Science and the Use of it, as Men go on in their Enquiries, and human Knowledge encreases, be carried on further, and in tract of Time be made serviceable in the practical Part of Physick, in such a manner, that fourscore or an hundred Years hence the Cure of many Diseases shall, by the Help of it, be render'd, if not sure and infallible, at least less difficult and perplex'd than it is now?

Phil. The Reason, why it is impossible, that this should ever come to pass, I had hinted to you already; when you told me, that what I said you had read in *Sydenham*. We are unacquainted with the Figure and Magnitude of innumerable Particles that

^aWe ought to be favourable in the Beginning of a Work. *A Proverb*.

the Causes of things are made of. The Mathematicks are built upon a solid Foundation; they are a Science of Truth and Certainty, that does not teach men to reason from Doubts or Conjectures; and where there are not certain *data* to go upon, something that is either known or taken for granted, we can receive no greater Assistance for the Advancement of Knowledge from Mathematicks, than to remove this House we could from Poetry or Musick. What Physicians are chiefly defective in, and what they want to know, is the true Cause or Causes of every Disease they meet with, and the real Virtues of every Medicine in the *materia medica*: Now how can Mathematicks direct us in or encrease our Knowledge of the Fluids of our Bodies that harbour the Diseases, or the Simples that are made use of; whilst we are entirely ignorant of the first constituent Parts, of which Nature has form'd those Fluids and Simples; and fall infinitely short of being able to affirm any thing concerning their Shapes or Bulks?

Misom. I own what you say is plausible, and seems to be very rational; but there is no reasoning against Facts. All purging and vomiting are brought now to a Certainty by that Science. You have doubtless seen the Table that a few Years ago was publish'd in the *Philosophical Transactions* (a), in which the Names of all the Purgative and Emetick Medicines are set down, and by mathematical Rules adjusted to every Constitution in all Ages. This must be a great Help in Physick.¹¹⁶

Phil. (b) *Coriaceum auxilium*: Whoever trusts to it in his Practice will find it a very poor one.

Misom. The Author shews, that the Doses of the Medicines are to be as the Squares of the Constitutions.

Phil. I believe it is as easy to find out the Squares of a Man's Goodness or Generosity, or else of his Wickedness or his Avarice, as it is to find out the Square of his Constitution. It puts me in mind of a Relick, which, among other great Curiosities, it is said, is somewhere (I forgot the Place) preserv'd in a Phial. It is one of the (c) *Hah's*, which *Joseph* the Virgin *Mary's* Husband made, whilst he was cleaving of Wood.¹¹⁷

Misom. A great Curiosity indeed! But how come you to ridicule what you have own'd your self not to understand?

Phil. I never did, nor ever will ridicule the Mathematicks: I thought I had given you Assurances enough of this; but what I think deserves to be laugh'd at, is their being haul'd and pull'd in by Head and Ears, where there is no Room for them. (d) *Non sunt hujus loci*. Whoever knows that all purging and emetick Medicines do not agree with all people, tho' of the same Ages and in all other respects seemingly of the same Constitution; and that often the same Doses will have very different Effects on the same Persons, in less than a Month's time: Whoever, I say, knows these things, and the great Caution that ought to be used in purging some People, will be

^aPhil. Trans. N°. 302 & 314.

^bA Proverb, for a mean, unprofitable Help.

^cThe Sound, which at every Stroke some labouring Men, especially Paviours, make in forcing out their Breath.

^dThey don't belong to this Place.

convinced, that all Schemes and Contrivances, to bring this Affair to Certainty, must be vain and fruitless. There is no one Science so serviceable to the civil Society as the Mathematicks, on a thousand Accounts: I have allowed all this before: But in the practical Part of Physick they are no more useful than (as the Proverb says) (a) *In Tragædia Comici*. When a man sets out wrong, the more I am satisfy'd that he goes on straight, the surer I am that he is out of his Way. But let us examine once the *Data* this Author sets out with, and we shall find, that the things he takes for granted, and which he builds his whole Scheme upon, are neither demonstrable, nor generally allowed of; but on the contrary, that they are loose Conjectures, and arbitrary Assertions without proof; and pray, what Certainty can there be in the Superstructure, when the Foundation is disputable and precarious?

Misom. You can expect no clearer Demonstration than the Nature of things will admit of.

Phil. That's true; and it's the thing I complain of, that Men should pretend to reason mathematically from Principles, that are not demonstrable. It is (b) *in arena ædificare*. But let us come to the thing it self. In the first place he asserts, that the Strength and Weakness of Constitutions depend on the different degrees of Adhesion, which the Particles of Blood have to each other.

Misom. But you ought to take a Man's Words in the Sense he puts upon them, when that is clear: Now it is evident, that by Constitution in this Place the Author means no more than that Temperament or Faculty in every Individual, that Tone of the Parts on which it depends, that some are more, others less difficult to be moved or wrought upon by emetic and purging Medicines.

Phil. Be it so. But why must I believe that this Constitution depends upon that Adhesion, when it is so highly probable, that several things must concur and all contribute to make up what he calls Constitution? The second Thing he asserts, and which is in great measure built on the first is that, *cæteris paribus*, the Dose of the Medicine is to be proportioned to the Quantity of the Person's Blood, and to be increas'd or lessen'd according as that Quantity is great or little; which, he says, is best to be gathered or computed from his Weight.

Misom. But what have you against it?

Phil. Nothing but Experience: for from our Author it must follow that, where the Age and what he calls the Constitution are the same, gross, corpulent People require larger Doses than those that are less in Bulk; which is not true. I know a little thin Woman of a middle Age, that is often out of order and does not weigh eight Stone, and who will not be moved by the same Medicine that is a sufficient Purge for a lusty Man of Thirty, whom I likewise know, one that weighs above Sixteen Stone, enjoys a very good Health, and has at least five or six times the Woman's Strength.

Misom. This destroys nothing of that Scheme, and what you prove is no more, than that tho' the Man is of superior Bulk and Force, the Woman is in his Sense of the Word, of a much stronger Constitution; that is, the Adhesion of the Blood is so

^a *Comedians in a Tragedy.*

^b *To build upon the Sand.*

powerful in her, that one Ounce of it makes a greater Resistance against the Medicines than two or three Ounces of his.

Phil. I expected you would make this Reply. What you say is true: But is it not evident from it, that what our Author supposes to be easy to be found out, and about the Discovery of which he makes not the least Scruple, I mean the Constitution, the Adhesion of the Blood, and the several Degrees of it, is (a) *Numeris Platonice obscurius*, an impenetrable Secret *a priori*, never to be known or come at but by downright Trial or Observation?

Another thing in this Scheme, that is likewise very arbitrary, and for which a Man can have neither Rule nor Authority, is the Author's Supposition, that there are three Degrees of Constitutions. Why not six or four and twenty Constitutions; or, which I am sure comes nearer to Truth, an even hundred of them? For I dare say, there are as many Degrees of Constitutions, in the Author's Sense of the Word, as there are of bodily Strength. But neither of these being Objects of Sense, they cannot be weigh'd, or measur'd, and therefore it is impossible to mark out or determine the several Degrees of them. Give me leave to illustrate to you, how arbitrary the Division of the Constitutions is, and how much it is to be depended upon. The different Sizes of Men in *Europe* are from under four Feet to upwards of seven; and among eight or nine Millions of them there will always be some of every Size between the two Extremes, to the tenth or twentieth Part of an Inch or less; if you can be but exact enough in measuring. This every body knows here: but if in *China*, or some other remote Part, a Man should assert, that among the People of *Europe* there were but three Sizes, as to their Height; and that the shortest men were five Feet four Inches; the middle-siz'd five Feet eight Inches, and that all the rest were six Feet high, you'll easily allow me, that little could be depended upon any thing built upon this Assertion: Yet the People, who had never seen any *Europeans*, but such as were near one of those Sizes, might swallow an hundred Errors contentedly, and at the same time applaud the Exactness of him who had led them into them.

Misom. The Reason why the Author makes only three Degrees of Constitution is, because they are sufficient for his Purpose, and greater Exactness in dividing them is not requir'd.

Phil. I don't dispute it. What I would convince you of is the small Certainty there is often in the very Foundation, the *Data*, from which some people pretend to reason mathematically. What is likewise great Stress laid upon by the Author is, that no purging or emetic Medicines ever operate before they are mix'd with the Mass of Blood.

Misom. It was necessary to have this well established, because the whole Scheme depends upon the Truth of it; for it would be demonstrable, that the strict or loose Adhesion of the Blood's Particles had no Influence upon the Operation of the Medicines, if that was perform'd before the Medicines came to the Blood.

Phil. I know very well that the Scheme requires this, but that does not prove the Truth of it: In many Cases it is evidently false. That the loose Stools observ'd two or

^aMore obscure than the Numbers of *Plato*. It is proverbially apply'd to what is dark and unintelligible.

three Hours after the taking of Physick are partly owing to its being mix'd with the Blood is very probable: But the Operation is often very quick, and succeeds the taking of a Medicine, before it can possibly be got into the Blood: This perhaps might be liable to be controverted in Purges, but in Vomits it is demonstrable. I have more than once seen Salt of Vitriol work the moment it was down; and in some squeamish People, the very Smell of a Medicine, nay the Sight of it proves Emetick. But, what at once destroys this *Hypothesis* is, that there are several things that are not only inoffensive to the Blood, but likewise most acceptable to it, and which when once mix'd with its Mass never were, nor ever will be Emeticks, and yet cause vomiting for no other Reason, than that they are nauseous to the Stomach; such as a large Draught of Oyl, either of Linseeds, or of Olives; *Carduus* Tea, and even Green Tea taken in Quantity, especially if made strong and drank lukewarm, and without Sugar: But warm Water it self, without any thing else, is a Vomit that thousands make use of.

Misom. What you said last convinces me that this *Hypothesis* is not universally true; for it is Madness to imagine, that in Water, the grand Provision which Nature has made to quench Thirst, there should be any thing disagreeable to the Blood; and as to its being lukewarm, it can never get into its Mass, before it is so, how cold soever it was drank. I never made use of these Tables, because I saw my self barr'd from them by the Exception the Author makes in Cases of Costiveness or Laxity; in neither of which, it seems, the Rules will answer.

Phil. But in these lies all the Difficulty. What Physicians want to be sure of is giving effectual Purges, (a) *In alvo pertinaciter constipata*, and not over-doing it where the Patient is easily moved. It is in these Cases only that Physicians are ever at a Loss as to purging; and to give them no Assistance here, is to treat them exactly, as most Commentators do their Readers. Whilst every thing is plain and intelligible they are florid and copious, and mighty full of Learning; but crabbed Passages that are really obscure, they either are very short upon, or else take no notice of them at all.

Misom. A Gentleman I knew formerly used to compare Commentators to false Friends; who, whilst they are not wanted, are very officious, but leave you in the Lurch, when you stand most in need of them.¹¹⁸ Costiveness is a sad Plague.

Phil. Compositions of many Ingredients are always found to be more effectual in that Case, than Remedies that only consist of one or two; and a gentle Laxative mix'd and given together with stronger Medicines often renders the whole prescription more efficacious, than much larger Doses of all Catharticks. This could never have been known, but from Observation: Mathematicks would rather induce us to believe the contrary to be true.

Misom. But now you speak of Doses, are not some of them very extraordinary in this Table? If a Scruple of *Resina Jalappæ* be a common Dose for a Man of middling Constitution, then a Child of three Years old must take near nine Grains, if it shall be judg'd to be of the strongest Constitution.¹¹⁹

^a *In a stubborn Costiveness.*

Phil. It is more than I would give by a great deal; and the Medicine it self I would never prescribe to one of that Age. But it signifies nothing to enter into Particulars: Suppose both of the Doses and the Calculations be just, and the Table the best in the World; I'll engage, that the most compleat Mathematician, who will practice upon that or any other Scheme of the same nature, and in prescribing purgative Medicines follow the Rules of it, shall either by over-purging and raising Fluxes, or by failing to purge, do more Mischief and be oftner disappointed among fifty Patients, than a mere Physician will among five hundred; by a mere Physician I mean an experienc'd one, that is wholly ignorant of the Mathematicks, and govern'd by nothing but his Judgement and Observations. But after all, there is no great Skill requir'd to order a Purge or a Vomit, either gentle or strong; our Defect does not lie here: There is nothing we have so great a Choice of, as we have of emetic and purgative Medicines. We have abundantly better stock'd with them, than we are with Sudorificks, Diureticks, or any Alternatives to answer the Intention and produce the Operation that is expected from them. The most skilful Physician in the World cannot always provoke Sweat or Urine when he pleases; I mean he cannot do it with half the Certainty, that the least Dabler in Physick can vomit and purge with. The Errors that are committed on this Head are, generally speaking, in the Application; and what we want to be sure of concerning Vomits and Purges, is the Distemper and the Time in which they are proper. It is with them as it is with Bleeding: They have all of them at times done infinite Service, and given Relief to a Miracle, in acute as well as chronick Diseases, yet they often do hurt, and sometimes kill the Patient; tho' the Indications seem to be the same. It is in these Streights, and the Difficulty of judging rightly, that we want Assitance; and if the Mathematicians can once give us a Rule, by which we might know with Certainty, when we should purge or vomit, and when we should let it alone, we should never trouble them about the Medicines to do it with, or the Quantities in which they are to be taken, in any Age or Constitution whatever.

Misom. And that Rule you expect, I suppose.

Phil. (a) *Ad Calendas Græcas.*

Misom. (b) *Cum mula pepererit.* To tell you the Truth, I understand Mathematicks no more than you do, and can only speak of it, (c) *juxta cum ignarissimis*; which if you had not made that ingenuous Confession first, I should hardly have told you. How that Science should be made serviceable in the Cure of Diseases, I frankly own I could never conceive. (d) *Sed in alieno foro non litigo.* The Usefulness and even the Necessity of it in Physick has now for some time been a Notion so universally received; that not being able to disprove it, I have been ashamed ever to speak against it.

Phil. If a Man was to be a professor in the Theory of Physick, and oblig'd to read Lectures on the Mechanism of the Body, some Knowledge in the Mathematicks

^aA Proverb for Never.

^bWhen a Mule shall have foal'd. A Proverb to the same Purpose with the former.

^cEqually with the most ignorant. It is Proverbially used when Men are entirely ignorant of a thing.

^dBut I won't go to Law in a strange Court. It is Proverbially used, when Men refuse to dispute about things they are not well versed in.

would be of great Use to him, (a) *ad ornatum*; and by the Help of it he would be able to speak better on many Subjects than he could without. But every Branch of the Art requires the same Accuracy: Those who are to instruct others in any particular part ought to understand it thoroughly, and not be ignorant of any the least Circumstance relating to it. If a Man was publickly to teach Anatomy, it would not be sufficient for him to have a clear Idea of the Inside of the Body, and every Part that has any relation to the animal Economy, both in Men and Women; but he should likewise be expert at dissecting, and shewing any Part a curious Enquirer may ask for: He ought to know by heart the Names of every Muscle of the Body; how to go to them readily, and separate them from those they are annexed to, without mangling or injuring any of the adjacent Parts. He ought to know the natural Situation of every Gland of Note, every Nerve, and be well acquainted with all the Ramifications of the sixth Pair.¹²⁰ He ought moreover to be well skill'd in preparing for publick View, preserving and embalming animal Bodies, or any Part of them, and whatever else may be expected from a compleat Anatomist.

Misom. Your speaking of Anatomy puts me in mind of another Branch of Physick that seems to have deserted the Art, for the use of which it certainly was first invented; what I mean is Botany. We have whole Books wrote now, and by Physicians too, that give us large Catalogues of Plants, without saying a Word of their Virtues, or so much as telling us, which of them are for medicinal Use, and which are not. What is labour'd most in them is a curious Exactness in the description of them, as to Shape and Colour, the Time a Plant blows at, what Number of Leaves the Flower is compos'd of, what it bears, and which Class it is to be rank'd in; and not a Syllable of what it is good for.

Phil. Your Censure is very just; the most curious Vegetable in the World that is useless in Physick cannot be worth the Care of a Man, who is wholly to apply himself to the Cure of Diseases; and the Knowledge, whether the Flower of it be (b) *Monopetalus* or *Hexapetalus* can do him little Service in his Business.

Misom. The more I reflect on what you said Yesterday of the Auxiliary Arts to Physick, and how the Reputation of excelling in any one of them is capable of bringing a young Physician into Practice, the more I begin to be of your Opinion. It is very probable, that Mathematicks are dipt into by many with the same View; and I plainly see, that what is altogether useless to Patients may yet be very proper to advance and raise the Fortune of Physicians.

Phil. I compar'd, you know, all those ornamental Qualifications to the false Lights of Shop-keepers; that they are very useful is not to be denied, but it is only the Sellers that reap the Benefit of them.

Misom. But what I admire at most is, why Men, whose Business and chief Aim is to get Money, the sooner the better, should apply themselves to a Science so laborious, and that requires so much time before they can make any considerable Proficiency in it, as the Mathematicks; if it was only *ad ornatum*, for a Feather in their Caps, as you call'd it, when there are so many other ways to Renown that are

^a *For Ornament.*

^b *That which has one Stalk, or that which has six Stalks; it is apply'd to Flowers and Plants only.*

Cheaper, by Qualifications that may be acquir'd in a little Time, and would not cost them a tenth Part of the Pains.

Phil. That Study which is most fashionable and most in Vogue in any Age, will always be most effectual for the Purpose you speak of. But you are mistaken, *Misomedon*, if you imagine, that those of the Profession, who make the greatest Rout about Mathematicks, and the Usefulness of them in the Practice of Physick, are great Proficients in them themselves. Among the Physicians there are some very able Mathematicians, and so there are among the Divines; and the Study of that Science, being by the common Consent of all that are skill'd in it, the most pleasant in the World, it is highly probable, that every Age will produce Men in all faculties who will follow it, for no other Reason, than the Delight they take in it, or the Improvements, that by the Help of it may be made in Astronomy, natural Philosophy, and all such Arts and Labours, to which it is known and apparent that Mathematicks are necessary, or may be apply'd.

Misom. Then you believe that there are Physicians who understand the Mathematicks, and yet expect no greater service from them in the Cure of Diseases, than a Divine can in the Cure of Souls?

Phil. I know it: And not only they; but likewise all other professed Mathematicians, that have given publick Proofs of their Capacity in that Science, are unanimous, that mathematical Knowledge cannot be apply'd to the Practice of Physick; and I can assure you, that it is from several of them, that I had the Reasons which I have given you for that Impossibility. It is a common thing among them to laugh at the vain Efforts of others that attempt to prove the contrary: Whereas those who are the loudest for the Usefulness of Mathematicks in our Art, and the Necessity there is that a Physician should be well skill'd in them, are commonly such, as have but a little smattering of them at best; and several of them are very sanguine on that side, that know nothing of the matter any more than I do.

Misom. (a) *Fortius dicunt, qui minus habent artis.*

Phil. Tho' their total Ignorance in that Science is kept a great Secret, and is perhaps the last thing they would confess. When the *Newtonian* Philosophy first began to spread, I have known Men of good Parts in our Faculty, that had finish'd their Studies very well, in great Perplexity for not having learnt the Mathematicks, when they found them become the fashionable Study: I speak of Men that had been in tolerable Practice for some Time. To have denied the Usefulness of them in Physick would have been running their Heads against the Wall.

Misom. That indeed would have been (b) *oppedere contra Tonitrua.*

Phil. And for Men already in Business to unlearn again what they had learn'd at the University, and turn back to a new crabbed Study, that required Time and Application before they could make any Progress in it, was a frightful Task to think on.

^aThose who know the least of an Art talk the most of it. *A Proverb.*

^b*A Proverb apply'd to a ridiculous Opposition; as that of a Child to a Giant.*

[Mandeville offers a rather euphemistic explanation for this Latin sentence, which literally means, "To fart against thunder."]

Misom. How did they extricate themselves from this Difficulty?

Phil. Some actually took Pains, and learn'd as much of the Mathematicks, as was sufficient to talk of them with those that understood them: Others went a much shorter way to work, and by the help of a Master, or from Books only, learn'd the Terms of Art, and the Signification of abundance of hard Names and Technick Words that are made use of in that Science: As *versed Sines, Ellypses, and Parabola's*.

Misom. I know a great many cramp Terms and hard Names that I could swagger with my self. *Azimuth and Almicanter*: I could talk of *Hyperbolick Asymptotes* and *Parameters* of *Conick Sections, Icosahedron, and Paralellipipedon*: But what could they get by that?

Phi. Every thing they wanted; which was only to make the World believe that they understood the Mathematicks; and this was of great Consequence to them; for it is generally believ'd, and the Opinion is plausible enough, that Physicians, who build their Art on mathematical Principles, must act with greater Certainty than others, whose Knowledge in Physick is confess'd to be for the greatest part conjectural. Besides a World of Time and Trouble are saved by it, and Men free themselves at once from the most tedious and unpleasant Task that belongs to Physick; for being suppos'd to know and enter into the Causes of things *a priori*, they have no occasion for Observations, and consequently there can be no necessity for the close Attendance on the Sick that is required to make them. What the Physician is paid for is the Trouble of writing, it is that which gets him his Fee, whether his Visits are short or long, and whether he comes near the Patient or not. All the Skill is wrapt up in the Prescription: As to the Nature and the State of the Distemper, sure the Apothecary or else his Man may inform the Doctor of the Patient's Condition, as well as he acquaints him with his Age and his manner of living. Practitioners likewise that go upon sure Grounds can have nothing to do with Physical Cases, or the Practical Authors that wrote them, but to despise and ridicule the old-fashion'd manner of Reasoning, those Pains-taking Drudges made use of: by which another great Trouble is avoided.

Misom. Nay if they are impertinent, every Body will say, (a) *Quid ad farinas?* What signifies reading them? There is a great deal in what you say. But Tricks and Artifices to gain esteem at a cheap Rate, and get into Business, have made use of in your Faculty formerly, as well as they are now; tho' they have changed with the Times. There is a vast Difference in the Manner and Behaviour between the old Physicians that I can remember when I was very young, and those that are coming up now: But many of those old ones shew'd as much Craft and Industry to comply with the Humours of their Age, and the Opinion that was then had of their Professions, as any Pretender to Mathematicks can possibly do at present. They study'd dull and heavy, as well as grave and pensive Looks, gave themselves stiff and pendant Airs on purpose to be thought Men of deep Learning; and to shew their Disregard to Fashions and the World, affected either Slovenliness in rich Cloaths, or an aukward Simplicity in their Dress, that made them remarkable. This was admirably well judg'd whilst it was thought that the Art of Physick was a

^aWhat Profit will it bring? *A Proverb.*

Mixture of Guess-work and Conjuring, and that no Progress could be made in it without severe Study and close Application of plodding laborious men, that would think on nothing else. But Mens Sentiments concerning Physick being alter'd, it is not to be expected that the Accomplishments to gain the Favour of the Publick should continue to be the same. It being now supposed to be an Art of much greater Certainty than it was, Physicians have nothing to do but to get Practice, and take Fees as soon as they are qualified; and if I had a Son or other near Relation of the Profession to be introduced into the World, I know what Study I would recommend to him.

Phil. The Mathematicks.

Misom. No indeed. But I suppose him come away from the University, and brought up as other young Physicians now generally are; and the Study which then I would recommend to him, should be the Knowledge of Mankind: I'd have him converse with and learn the Language of the *Beau Monde*, (a) *ut nihil ex agro diceret*. His first and greatest Care should be to have his Name often mentioned among them. In order to this he should make his court chiefly to the Favourites of the Ladies, keep company with Men of superficial Knowledge, and all the great Talkers about Town. Every now and then he should entertain those of his Acquaintance with something that is curious in Nature, or by the Help of Microscopes, Prisms, or an Air-Pump, amuse them with some Sight or other, or some shewish Experiment, that should always be cleanly as well as diverting.¹²¹ For the rest, I'd have him dress well, study Politeness, and in every thing *la belle maniere*; always remembering that there is no Saying in the World more generally true than that (b) *Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit*.

Phil. I sincerely believe that to make his Fortune a Man could follow no better Advice.

Misom. (c) *Sed quo terrarium rapimur!* How strangely have we been run away from our Subject this half Hour! But whilst I am easily diverted, I can never be out of my Way.

Phil. Our grand Affair is your Health, *Misomedon*, and you can never consult that better than by endeavouring to be cheerful.

Misom. I am infinitely obliged to you for your Indulgence, and your humouring me in my rambling Temper, as you do.

Phil. No compliments, I beg of you: I like my company as well as you can possibly do yours.]

Misom. When first I interrupted you [by asking, whether you did not think all the Operations of the Body to be mechanical, I remember] you was speaking of the Mixture of Parts that the animal Spirits must consist of.

[*Phil.* That what we call the animal Spirits should be a Composition of various Parts that has a Tone, *Crisis*, and due Consistency belonging to it, as well as the

^aThat he might say nothing vulgar. *A Proverb.*

^bBy Complaisance we make Men our Friends, but speaking the Truth creates Hatred. *A Proverb.*

^cBut what Part of the World are we hurried into! *It is proverbially used, when Men are carried off far from their Subject.*

Blood, is not an unreasonable Supposition; and sometimes I can't help fancying it to be true.]

Misom. You hinted at a System of that Composition; I should be glad to hear one.

Phil. [I wonder'd (I said) that no body had yet contriv'd an *Hypothesis* concerning that Mixture of the Spirits; but the Task it self I must leave to the witty speculative Physicians, that take greater Delight than I do in arguing from Suppositions, and building Systems on their own loose Fancies.] Since I told you that the Mixture of the Blood was unsearchable, you may well imagine, that I think that of the Spirits as much more so, as the Particles it is made up of are more remote from the Senses. What I have started about the Degrees of Subtility that must be among them, seems to me, as I told you, a necessary Consequence, applicable to all Particles in general of Things strain'd, filtrated or evaporated. You shall call this a Supposition, if you please; but I have laid no manner of Stress upon, either the Difference of the Elasticity or various Contexture of their Parts, which yet that there must be will be evident, when we come to consider, that not only the Difference there is often in Constitutions and bodily Strength; but likewise good and ill Tempers, Passions of the Mind, Courage and the Want of it, Wit and Foolishness [, and many other things not to be discover'd but from the Effects they have upon the Actions of Men, can be owing to, and depend on nothing else, than the Difference in the Texture of Parts, Tone, Elasticity, or some other Quality of that wonderful Fluid, which we call the animal Spirits].

Misom. I heartily thank you for what you said last: Your hinting to me those nicest Qualifications of the Body, which, tho' they seem to belong to the Soul, are wholly depending upon the various Contexture of the Mass of Spirits, have made me penetrate into the Divisibility of Matter, and by opening the vast Extent of it, led me to a noble Prospect of Miracles in the Composure of our Frame, which I had never discovered before.

Phil. I am glad, that at last you are happily enter'd into a Sentiment of things, which Words cannot express; and now I hope, looking back on the Passages of your Life, you'll easily find out your self the Procatartick Causes of your Distemper. The Irregularities of your Youth having led the Way by shaking the Frame of your Constitution, the first thing I can accuse is your marrying young, and being too much addicted to what you was pleas'd to call the *Res uxoria*: It is incredible, what vast Treasures are insensibly consumed by a continual Expence, tho' it be never so little. I know very well, that most married People flatter themselves with thinking, that they sufficiently consult their Healths if they only abstain from unlawful Pleasures, how intemperately soever they indulge their Appetites, where the ridiculous Pretence of Duty can palliate the Extravagancy of their Lust; but it is certain that the Excess of legitimate, and what we call chaste Embraces, proves often of no less fatal consequence as to the utter undoing our Strength and Constitution, than the (a) *Impura Venus* her self: Yet if a Man, that has but once had a *Gonorrhea*, or any other slight *Venereal* Symptom, happens to grow old before his time, and feels a general decay of Vigour and Manhood, he is apt to lay all the blame upon the

^aA Phrase for the Venereal Infection.

trifling Infection, which perhaps never haunted him above two or three Months; without reflecting on the prodigious Waste he has made of his Spirits for many Years, by taxing himself too rigidly with the cruel Tribute of benevolence; in which Error People are generally upheld by the insinuating Artifice of designing Quacks, who making an advantage of the many and different Symptoms of the *Venerereal* Disease, as well as the Possibility of its remaining conceal'd in the Body for many Years, frighten the Credulous with a thousand frivolous Stories, and not willing to turn any Grist from their Mill, endeavour to persuade the World that every Distemper is the Pox.

Misom. I have long suspected that Cause my self which you now mention [, and can but Smile at the Comical way we have of digging our own Graves].¹²² The Hectick Fire of Conjugal Love is often not less consuming, tho' more slow, than the more raging Blasts of ignominious Name. And tho' Concupiscence is hurtful and pernicious to the Imprudent in every Condition of Life, yet to many it is most mischievous in the married State. [There are sensual Men not void of Caution, who, by their Fear of Shame and the Impressions that were made upon them by their Education, are sufficiently restrain'd from Turpitude and committing any thing that is criminal, at the same time that they indulge with all their Might every Appetite they can gratify with Safety, and without incurring publick censure. All such, of which there are great Numbers,] Enjoyment in Matrimony allures with a double Bait; and Mens soothing their Thoughts, and flattering themselves with the Lawfulness of the Passion, the Meritoriousness of conjugal Benevolence, is in amorous Dispositions not less inticing to Destruction than the Pleasure it self. Oh! How solicitous is prudent Nature to maintain her self in the successive Revolutions of every Species! How strangely are rational Animals imposed upon to their own undoing by that *Hyæna*, Love, so as to believe it the only Sweet for which Life is valuable, notwithstanding the innumerable Calamities, Diseases and Deaths they see it has brought upon others! [Is it comprehensible, which way that sagacious Creature Man should be guilty of so much Folly, as with the best and most Balsamick parts of his Arterial Blood daily to feed an insatiable Monster, and suffer it luxuriously to draw the Marrow from his Bones, and Vital Strength from every part less solid, till by its destructive breath he is quite enervated, and his Constitution devour'd?]¹²³

Phil. You speak with the Zeal against Folly, and the Wisdom of Fifty Five; but what Pity it is we should never be saving before our Stock is spent! (a) *Sera est in fundo Parsimonia.*

^aIt is too late to save when you come to the Bottom of a Cask, Bag, &c. *A Proverb, the Application of which is obvious.*

[Mandeville is quoting Seneca's first epistle to Lucilius: "For, as our ancestors believed, it is too late to spare when you reach the dregs of the cask. Of that which remains at the bottom, the amount is slight, and the quality is vile." *Moral Epistles*, Translated by Richard Gummere, 3 vols. (The Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard UP, 1917-25), vol. I, p. 5].

[*Misom.* I know it is too late. (a) *Sero sapient Phryges*; and all I have left is to complain, and ask with Horace: (b) *Quæ mens est hodie cur eadem non puero fuit?*

Phil.] There is a Season in which we cannot believe, that the Spirits, squander'd away in *Venereal* Pleasures, cannot be restor'd, and that the Losses that Way sustain'd are irretrievable. (c) *Quod quæ à Venere facta est sit irreparabilis virium exhaustion, quia demit de innato cordis Spiritu*, says *Van Helmont*, in his fourth Book of Fevers: But this Truth is little reflected upon at Five and Twenty; and if Youth might be restored to him who has liv'd to old Age, it would scorn to come back without its Follies.

Misom. I believe it: Wisdom is no Match for Passions when they are violent, and *Micio* was in the Right, for it is but (d) *Alia ætate quod ad Omnia sapimus rectius*, and not before.¹²⁴

Phil. The next thing that has exhausted and spoil'd the Tone of your Spirits, was the Labour of the Brain in that five or six Years hard Study commenced soon after your Estate was so unexpectedly fallen to you; and indeed the immoderate Exercise of the Brain, and Excess of *Venery*, are so generally the Occasion of the Hypochondriack Passions, that in all my Experience I have hardly met with any, where I had not Reason to impute the Distemper, in Part at least, to one or other of these, if not to both: I speak of Patients, in whom the Malady has been confirm'd. It was then the Waste of Spirits, that robbing the Stomachick Ferment of what was required for its Volatilization, occasion'd those fix'd acid Salts [that gave you the Heart-burning] which was your first Complaint. The many absorbent and alkalic Medicines you took would have removed your Grievance, if the Fault had not been in the Spirits; yet the continual taking of them, as well as the remaining Strength of your Constitution, hindered the Crudities from being more prejudicial, and inducing further Symptoms, 'till the great and preposterous Evacuations of your learned *Galenist*, quite destroying the Tone of your Blood and Spirits, compleated their Ruin. The large Bleedings having robb'd you of your vital Heat, and strong Catharticks benumb'd your Stomach and Bowels after working, it was no wonder that the drinking of cold Waters totally abolishing their Functions, brought the *Lienteria* upon you;¹²⁵ and considering the Circumstances you were in that Morning at *Epsom*, when you took the burnt Claret, I reckon that the happiest Chance that ever befell you (the Death of your Kinsman not excepted) was meeting with the Gentleman that prescrib'd it. When the Wine and Spices had restored the Tone of your Stomach and Intestines, and the Looseness was check'd, your Blood and Juices

^a A Proverb of the same Nature, as in English, When the Steed is stolen to shut the Stable Door.

^b Why was I not of the same mind I am now of, when I was young?

[Horace, *Odes*, Book IV, X, 7-8].

^c That, when a Man's Strength is exhausted by Excess of *Venery*, the Loss is irreparable; because it takes away from the innate Spirit of the Heart.

[Jan-Baptist Van Helmont, *Opuscula Medica Inaudita*, "De Febribus" (Köln, Elzevier, 1644) p. 41].

^d At another Age that in all things we can act with Prudence.

[*Micio* is a character from Terence's *Adelphi*, see Act V, scene 3, line 832].

being now as well purified of their Dregs, as deprived of their more Balsamick Parts, it was reasonable to think, that by giving a Relaxation to your Mind, and more Exercise to your Body, than was usual, remaining in the Country Air, and using a laudable Diet, you would in a manner recover your Strength: The Enemy however was left behind, and from the time of your drinking the Waters it is, that I date your Distemper: For tho' you enjoy'd a tolerable Health for a considerable time after; yet upon every Disorder, that has succeeded it, the Deficiency of your Spirits has manifested it self more and more.

Misom. It is very strange, and sure something belonging to my Distemper, that whatever Resolution I take up against Physick and Physicians, I should always hearken to the last Comer. It is without doubt the ardent Desire we have for our Welfare, that in spite of our Reason makes us so fond of believing: I find my self again perswaded, and tho' I have often fancy'd the same in vain, yet now methinks I am convinced of the real Cause, not only of the Crudities and their grievous Effects, but likewise of all the innumerable other Symptoms that have ever disturbed me: For tho' the Enemy has now withdrawn his Forces and is retir'd, I am sensible that he is still lurking within: The beating, throbbing, and sometimes trembling in every Part of me, and especially the Shakings in my Back, which I not only feel upon Surprize or Passion, but even the least Emotion of my Mind that is sudden, now I am as it were in perfect Health, admonishes me continually of my precarious Condition, and gives me a clear Idea of the broken Contexture of my Spirits.

[*Phil.* There is not a Symptom you have labour'd under, that might not with great Ease be accounted for from the Deficiency of the Spirits, if a Man would set about it.

Misom. I can but admire at my own Fickleness. A little while ago I disputed with you, and denied the Existence of animal Spirits; but now again, when I come to reason *a Posteriori*, I think it impossible that there should be none.

Phil. Such must be the Minuteness of their Bulks, and the Rapidity of their Motion, that their Existence is one of those Truths that admit of no Demonstration *a Priori*.

Misom. I could easily fall in with Dr. *Morton*, who in his (a) ΠΥΡΕΤΟΛΟΓΙΑ endeavour'd to prove, that the Disorder of the animal Spirits was the Cause of most Diseases.]¹²⁶

I can now solve very well how close Study comes to dispose People to the Hypochondriack Passion; but why the *Germans* should call it the Disease of the Learned, in their Language, when so many others are afflicted with it, I can't conceive.

Phil. They call it so, because among the Learned there is a greater Number troubled with it than you can find in any other Class of Men: It is common among them, as [Palseys and Convulsions are among Silversmiths and Braziers;] *Hernia's* among Trumpeters, and those that break Horses for the great Saddle; *Asthma's* among Hat-makers, &c. (b) *Non quod soli literati*, says *Etmuller*, *huic morbo obnoxii, sed*

^aA Discourse on the Spirits.

^bNot, that only learned Men are subject to this Distemper, but because a great many of them are troubled with it.

quod plurimi eo malo, vexantur; the Reason of which he thinks to be their stooping and squeezing the Belly against the Books, which hinders the free Descent of the *Diaphragma*, and consequently the Circulation of the Humours.¹²⁷

Misom. This is very far fetch'd. I wonder what *Etmuller* would say to a learned Divine of my Acquaintance, who is Hypochondriacal, and yet generally stands upright, or walks, when he studies. But I think this *High German* Reason not worth the refuting; what you have said of the Labour of the Brain, by which the finest Spirits are exhausted, and the Neglect of Exercise by which the grosser Humours should be eliminated, is very Rational, and a better Cause cannot be assign'd; therefore I think it should hold good in all, Learned or Not learned, that commit the same Errors.

Phil. So it does; for whether a Man has an estate to live upon, is a Merchant, an Artist, or follows any other Trade or Employment that allows a Sedentary Life, so he but over-charges his Head with Business, and keeps the rest of his Body unactive; it is certain, that he bids fair for the Distemper; and as for the leaning the Stomach and *Præcordia* against large Books, Desks, and Tables, tho' it is not sufficient to be an *Adæquate* Cause, I have had Reason in a great many to suspect it as an accessory one.

[*Misom.* Something comes into my Head, that very much corroborates this Opinion of yours concerning Digestion, and which I wonder neither of us should have thought of before; for I am sure you must have read it, as well I. It is a notable Instance of a great Disorder of the Stomach occasion'd by a Deficiency of the Spirits, inserted in the *Philosophical Transactions*. I believe it is in the Year 1673. I can find it presently: If I am not mistaken it is very *à propos*, and I will have the Pleasure of reading it to you. —

(a) "A Minister of about fifty Years of Age, being much indisposed, and often relapsing into a Distemper accompanied with vomiting and purging, his Physician, when I had the Opportunity of speaking with him about it, told me, That he was persuaded that his Cure was obstructed by the Patient's being obliged to study; for when by the Help of Medicines prescribes to and used by him he was brought to a considerable degree of Recovery, his studying and preaching made him constantly relapse. This appearing to me somewhat strange, that studying and discoursing should cast a Man into such violent Distempers; and the Reasons given by the Doctor for it, not prevailing with me; he one Day surpriz'd me with relating what himself had seen, giving the said Minister a Visit, which might confirm his Conjecture concerning the Spirits being drawn away from the Stomach, and leaving the digestive Power languid; which was, that the Preacher falling into a Relapse after a Sermon preach'd by him, and Vomits coming strongly upon him, he cast out among other Matter, several Pieces, some as large as the End of a Man's Finger, some less, of a Substance to the Touch and Eye perfectly resembling Tallow; four Pieces whereof weigh'd half an Ounce. What may be inferr'd hence for the Doctrine of Concoction I must leave to others to consider."¹²⁸

^a *Phil. Trans.* N° 96.

Phil. I own I had forgot it, tho' it is very *à propos*, and may serve likewise to make us conceive more easily why the hypochondriack Passion should be called the Disease of the Learned. But I'll proceed.]

Immoderate Grief, Cares, Troubles and Disappointments are likewise often Concomitant Causes of this Disease; but most commonly in such, as either by Estate, Benefices, or Employments have a sufficient Revenue to make themselves easie: men that are already provided for, or else have a Livelyhood by their Callings amply secured, are never exempt from Solicitudes, and the keeping not only of Riches, but even moderate Possessions, is always attended with Care. Those that enjoy 'em are more at leisure to reflect, besides that their Wishes and Desires being larger, themselves are more likely to be offended at a great many Passages of Life, than People of lower Fortunes, who have seldom higher Ends, than what they are continually employed about, the getting of their daily Bread; which if they accomplish to Satisfaction, they are commonly pleas'd and happy, because they think themselves so; and such, as cannot obtain it, labour under such a Variety of Necessities, and are so diverted with their present Circumstances, that they have not Time stedfastly to think on one thing, and consequently the Vexations of the Mind have not so great an Influence over them. It was unexpected Fortune, that first made you in love with Business, and the Management your large Inheritance required, cured you of your careless Temper; Give me leave to observe, that if you had been reduced to the Want that threatened you, and forced to maintain your Family, either by Copying, Hackney-writing, or some other miserable Shift, where you must have work'd (a) *de pane ad panem*, and always lived from Hand to Mouth, I am of Opinion, that your Distemper (if it had ever troubled you at all) would neither so soon, nor so severely have attack'd you.

You have been tormented with more Symptoms than ever I knew any one Patient; and yet there are several others, as Lypothymies, Weaknesses, Pains in the Arms, Legs, &c. that are familiar to hypochondriacal People, of which I have not heard you complain.¹²⁹ It is likewise observable in your Case, that your Pains have been used to be more cruel, your Fancy less disturb'd, and the Intervals of Ease you enjoy in the Summer of longer Continuance than they are generally found, where the Distemper may be said to be arrived to the highest Degree.

As to Prognosticks, considering the many Causes that have concurr'd to the ruining the Contexture of your Spirits, the long Duration of your Distemper, and the Violence it has been of, as is reasonably to be presum'd from the visible Alterations it has made in your very Temper and Constitution, my Sentiment is, that an entire Cure, so as never to relapse into any of the Symptoms, that are become habitual to you, is never to be expected, nor is your pristine Vigour ever to be restored; but if your Distemper be skilfully managed, and Prescriptions diligently comply'd with, your grievous Pains, the Disorders of the Fancy, and habitual Costiveness, which influences the rest, may be removed, the Return of all that is dismal in your Affliction be prevented, and your Life again be made easie and comfortable. Of this I can assure you, with as much Certainty, as Mortals can make Promises to one another.

^aFrom Loaf to Loaf. A *Proverb*. *The same as from Hand to Mouth*.

Misom. I sent for you at first, *Philopirio*, only out of Curiosity, to know your Sentiments concerning the Hypochondriack Passion, without any Design of taking your Advice, much less your Medicines, though I heard you prepar'd and administered them your self, a Practice I have always coveted in a regular Physician; but what you have told me of Physick in general, and the Causes of my Distemper in particular, as well as the Constancy with which I see you still adhere to Observation in the tracing of Nature, and the uncommon Method of your reasoning, by drawing all your Arguments from the solid Basis of well-weigh'd Experience, have alter'd my Resolution, and again conquer'd that Prejudice I have so often taken up against Physick: Wherefore to shew you how unwilling I am to lose any further time, and with how much Resignation to your Skill and Candour, I confide in your Promise; from this Moment I commit my self entirely to your Care, without any Enquiry into your Method of Cure, desiring you would let me have this very Night whatever you think proper, with necessary Directions: To-morrow I shall have a venison Pasty for Dinner, of which if you'll take part, you'll oblige me: My usual Hour is One; against you come, for your Information, I'll look out some of the Prescriptions that I used to find the greatest Benefit by, and when you have seen them we'll talk of another Patient, I have in view for you.

Phil. You load me with Civilities, *Misomedon*; but in Obedience to your Commands, I'll take care of the Medicines Tonight, and wait on you To-morrow.

Misom. Then I'll detain you no longer, and expect you: I can promise you no *Formian*, nor *Chios* Wines, but excellent *French* Claret,

—— (a) *Quod minimum Falernis*

Invidet uvis.——

Phil. (b) *Sufficit; at liceat cuppâ potare Magistrâ.*

Mis (c) *Liber eris: non enim soleo convivas urgere. Tempus dixi, ne ergo nobis in morâ sis rogo.*

Phil. (d) *Tempestivus adero; nam illius horæ ventrem semper monitorem habeo.*

^aThat is not in the least inferior to Falernian Wine, which was very much esteemed among the Romans.

[Horace, *Odes*, Book II, 6, "To Septimus."]

^bIt is enough; or as one would say in English: I don't question the Goodness of it; but I beg the Liberty not to drink more of it than I care for. *Cuppâ potare Magistrâ* is a Phrase made use of by Horace for moderate Drinking. It is a noted Place for its various Lections, and the Criticks are not agreed yet, whether it ought to be read *Culpâ*, *Cupâ*, or *Cuppâ*.

^cYou shall be free to do as you please. For it is not my Custom to force my Guests against their Inclination. I have told you the Time, therefore pray don't let us wait for you.

^dI shall be with you at your Time; for my Stomach always helps me remember that Hour.

The Third Dialogue Between *Philopirio* a Physician, *Misomedon* and *Polytheca* His Patients

Misom. These are the Prescriptions I spoke of; but before you look on them, I want to have a Doubt or two resolv'd, which, as I was thinking on our Discourse of Yesterday, I started to my self this Morning, concerning what you have laid down as the chief Cause of Hypochondriack and Hysterick Diseases.

[*Phil.* What may be certainly known from Observation and Experience, about the Causes of these Distempers, can only relate to the external and procatartick; but as to the immediate Causes that within the Body produce these Distempers, whatever I or any body else can say about them, can only be conjectural.

Misom. Yet you are of Opinion, that the Existence of animal Spirits is rather a Fact than a Supposition; and that their being divided into finer and grosser Spirits, is no more than a necessary Consequence of their being made by Separation from the Blood or other Juices.

Phil. That I can frame no better Idea of these things, I own; but I have drawn no Conclusions from that Idea, which I have form'd of it; and, when I had answer'd, as well as I could, the Objection you made against the Existence of animal Spirits, I told you afterwards that I did not insist upon it, and only made use of the Name to express the Instruments of Motion and Sense, whether there were or were not animal Spirits, as are commonly allowed; or whether the Nerves perform'd this by any Motion undiscoverable by us, or by any Juice, or Spirit, or *Æther*, or whatever it be. Men must either be altogether silent about the Economy of the Brain, and the Commerce between the volatile Particles that are employed in the Act of Thinking, and the rest of the Body; or giving Names to things inexpressible, utter the loose Conjectures of the Imagination. The Observations, that lead us to the Knowledge of a Disease, and what Experience has taught us concerning the *Juvantia* and *Lædientia*, what things will facilitate and promote, or obstruct and retard the Cure of it, are the

Corner-Stones on which Physicians ought to build their Practice. They are known Parts, in which there are certain Roads to travel in, whilst all the rest that is between them is a *terra incognita*, which every body may conceive of as he pleases.

Misom. Yet there is a great Difference in the making of Conjectures, and abundance of Ingenuity may be display'd in them. When the so much celebrated Headless Statue of a *Faunus* was first found, every Body could tell, that a Head must once have belong'd to that Body; and an hundred Men might have conceiv'd the Form or Figure of it an hundred different ways; but when *Michael Angelo* had supply'd the Defect, it was evident, that the Head that was missing, must have been such a one as that, which he had made, or a worse. When we look upon the whole Statue as it is now, and compare the short Horns of the *Faunus*, with the little Tuft of his Tail, and the drunken Grin of his Face, with the frolicksome Posture of his Limbs, and all the rest of the grotesque Figure, what a deal of fine Judgement is there to be seen in his guessing!¹³⁰

Phil. Still *Michael Angelo* knew his Task; and tho' perhaps no body besides himself could have made a Head answerable to such a Body; yet it was no Secret, which Part of the Statue it was that was wanting: but in the latent Causes of Diseases we can form no Idea of what we are ignorant of; that is, we don't know the Figures nor the Properties of the things that are hid from us, and we are obliged to make Sounds for, and adapt Words to things that are inexpressible.

Misom. I am convinced that reasoning about the internal and immediate Cause of Diseases, and the solving *Phænomena* by an *Hypothesis*, are of little use to cure sick People: Nay, I am persuaded moreover, that *Virgil*, whose Authority is of great weight with me, was well acquainted with this Truth; and that he pointed at it in these two Lines.

(a) *Scire potestates Herbarum, usumque medendi
malvit & mutas agitare inglorius Artes.*

Japis preferr'd the real Service he might be of to his Father, to his own Glory; and therefore chose to understand the Efficacy of Simples, and the practical Part of Physick; and I don't question but *Virgil* call'd these the dumb, silent Arts, in Opposition to the other, which *Apollo* had offer'd him the (b) *Augurium*, the (c) *Cithara*, and the (d) *Celeres sagittæ*, that Men could not excel in without acquiring Renown; or else the Epithet *inglorius* would have been impertinent to *Japis*. I can plainly see, that when he said *mutas artes*, he meant such Arts as might be secretly practis'd, and which it signify'd nothing to talk or reason upon.

Phil. This could not have been found out without great Sagacity.

^a He chose rather to understand the Efficacy of Simples and the Cure of Diseases, and void of Glory to practice the dumb Arts. *Virgil's Æneids, Book 12.*

^b The Gift of Prophecy.

^c Musick.

^d The Art of Shooting.

Misom. That this was *Virgil's* Meaning is most evident from two Words that follow some twenty or more Lines after, (a) *medicans occultè*.

Phil. You speak like a true Worshipper of the Ancients. *Virgil* was, as well as *Homer*, an inspired Writer, and no Man of Classick Faith did ever doubt the Universality of their Knowledge; nay, to imagine that either of them could have been ignorant of any thing, past, present, or to come, shews a great Tendency to Prophaneness.

Misom. (b) *Hic Funis nihil attraxit*. No Banter can stick there: But what I was going to tell you is, that, tho' I am convinced from what you have said, that Reasoning about Causes is not to be depended upon, and tho' I am confirm'd in this Opinion by *Virgil's* Authority, yet I find it is impossible to do without. There is a Gap between the Observations made of the Symptoms of a Disease, and what Experience teaches us about the Cure of it: I want to have that Gap fill'd up; and the most airy Speculations are more satisfactory, than a Man's saying that he knows nothing of it. To consider the Nerves as the Snouts of an Alembick, and make the Brain serve for a Sponge, requires at least as much Capacity, as to be altogether silent concerning the Operations of either. Therefore I desire you would continue to speak of these things according to the Idea you have form'd of them. Your Notion of the Mass of Spirits, that it must be a Compound of heterogeneous Particles, and that some of them must be abundantly finer than others, has nothing in it that is unreasonable or improbable. You'll pardon my Fickleness; it is Part of my Distemper; and I can't help altering my Opinion as often as the Appearances of things do change.

Phil. But which, pray, are the Doubts you intended to propose?

Misom. The first is this;] I have allowed you that the Deficiency of Spirits was a natural Consequence of hard Studies, and other labours of the Brain; because it could not be supposed, but that great Quantities of them must be consumed by those difficult and often-repeated Employments of our Thoughts; but upon considering that the Act of Thinking, and consequently the Labour of the Brain, is continual, and lasts without Intermission, as long as we live; I can see no Reason, why in the same Operation the Spirits should be more exhausted at one time, than they are at another.

Phil. When we leave our Fancy at its own Disposal, and, as it were, a grazing, without charging the Spirits with any particular Business, they may be justly said to be at Play; and therefore, in Men, whose brains are not used to be idle, this is call'd unbending of their Thoughts, or else a relaxation of the Mind; but when at our Soul's Command our Thoughts are determined to any one Subject, and the volatile Messengers of our Will diligently employ'd in finding out, separating, joining, and fitting the several Images that may serve our purpose, are sent with unconceivable Swiftness to penetrate every Cranny of the Brain, then certainly our Spirits are at work, and the more fix'd and intense our Thoughts are, the greater, without doubt, is the *Waste of Spirits*: It is with our Thoughts, as it is with our Eyes: The latter we keep open without any Trouble all Day long, and if we walk abroad we see the

^a *Healing covertly and in secret.*

^b This Rope has drawn nothing. *It is used proverbially to an Adversary, when what he says is of little or no Force.*

Houses, People, Coaches, Streets and Horses all at once; but this does not hurt or weary the Eyes so much, as when we contract the Sight, and directing it to a particular Place, keep it employ'd in examining some very minute Points; as is manifest in Engravers, Painters in Miniature, and others, whose Business requiring a Nicety of Sight, generally proves prejudicial to their Eyes; and daily Experience shews us, that those, who read or write much, are sooner forced to wear Spectacles, than other People.

Misom. This I suppose the Physicians in *Spain* take for granted; who, tho' they are never so young, hardly ever stir without Spectacles, and have them fasten'd to their Heads even when they ride abroad.

Phil. What, you think then, that by this they would hint to the World, that the Severity of their Studies and Lucubrations has impair'd their Sight?

Our Thoughts don't cease even when we are asleep; but then the Spirits, not administering any Images to the Soul from the outward Senses, are only wandering at leisure about the Images that are within, and commonly the most obvious. [You see I obey your Commands, and] I speak of these things according to the Idea I can form of them, and only as they appear to be to our Understanding, being otherwise well assured that we are wholly ignorant of the real Œconomy of the Brain.

Whilst I think on this, I cannot forbear to take notice, that nothing more egregiously exposes the ridiculous Vanity of those that pretend to explain mechanically the Motions of the Spirits, than what happens to us in our Dreams. In them it seems to us, that our Fancy is either placidly soothed, or frightfully disturb'd, according to the different Images the Spirits chance to light on; yet the Experience teaches us, that our having either delightful, or else troublesome Dreams, is not a thing so fortuitous, as the Generality of People imagine; and it is demonstrable, that it depends immediately upon the Tone and Contexture of the Spirits, and consequently in a great measure upon the disposition of the Body: Overloading the Stomach at Night, even when we are in Health, often influences our Dreams, and makes the Fancy uneasy. The generality of Hypochondriack and Hysterick People have at all times, either dismal and confus'd Dreams, or else such as they can but seldom and faintly remember. I wish the ingenious Gentlemen, that can so sagaciously penetrate into the Mechanism of the most minute Particles, would oblige us once with a Reason, why all *Valetudinarians*, in whom the Contexture of Spirits is much broke, should so often, the Minute they fall asleep, be troubled with a Dream of sinking down, or falling into a Pit, which shall wake and often make them tremble: And that this depends as much upon the Mechanism of the Body, as any muscular Motion we can make, is certain; but who is the mighty Man that can enter into it? Tho' it is manifest, that this Dream is more peculiarly the Consequence of a Deficiency of Spirits than any other; because it likewise happens to people in Health after great Evacuations, unusual and immoderate Exercise, especially to such as have over-watch'd, or wearied themselves with Thinking.

I would likewise ask those clear-sighted Philosophers, that pretend to discover which way all Medicines are oblig'd to work upon human Bodies, to give us an Insight into the manner of Operation, which is constantly observ'd of *Opium*: Nay, let them but mechanically account for one *Phænomenon* of that wonderful Charmer

of the Spirits, I mean the Sedate and agreeable Dreams, which a little Quantity of it shall generally occasion in all healthy People, and I'll not trouble them to explain any other Qualification of that Divine Medicine.

Misom. I see your Opinion of the Effects which *Opium* has upon the Spirits, is contrary to that of *Willis*, who says it kills and destroys them, and speaks of its Particles entering the Brain, as a Man would of a flying Army that surprises a Frontier Country. He tells us, *That meeting in the Cortex of the Brain, with the first Party of the Animal Spirits, they defeat, or rather destroy a great many of them, that are in the Forlorn-hope; by which means afterwards the remaining Spirits of the same Troop being now grown weaker, retreat, and seeing their Emanation is stopt, fly back toward the Middle of the Brain; and that, whilst they are withdrawing themselves from the Battle, and marching off, the rest that are lodg'd in the Organs of Sense, as in so many Watch-Towers, having lost their recruits, immediately follow them, and leaving their Guard retire to take their rest.*¹³¹

This is no doubt a very witty *Simile*; but to say no more of this Poetical Army of *Myrmidons*, nor your Digression upon Dreams, I'll go back from whence I started, and own my self answer'd as to my first Doubt. What you have said has fully convinced me, that tho' our Thoughts never cease, the Labour of the Spirits requir'd in the Performance of them is infinitely greater on some Occasions, than it is upon others; and tho' I must own, that I don't know what Sleep consists in exactly; yet, from the Refreshment, Vigour and Strength it gives to our Thoughts, I now dare conclude that the finest Spirits are at a certain Ease in it, which they never enjoy whilst we are awake. The Weariness of our Limbs is cured by sitting or lying still, and the grosser Spirits employ'd in muscular Motion may be in a great measure recruited by Food and Quietness without Sleep: But the Loss of the most subtile Spirits, always officiating between the Soul and some of the Senses, and more or less busied in forming some Thought or other whilst we are awake, cannot be repair'd but by Sleep, the want of which we see soon disorders the Brain, and consequently the Tone and whole Contexture of the Spirits.

Phil. In the same Road of Thinking, you'll find the Reason why Hypochondriacal People are generally Ingenious, without the Assistance of an imaginary Ferment of the Spleen, which, as we have shew'd before, some Physicians would have to be the Cause both of their Wit and their Distemper: For, as Thinking consists in a various Disposition of the Images received; so what we call Wit is nothing but *an Aptitude of the Spirits by which they nimbly turn to, and dexterously dispose the Images that may serve our purpose.* From whence it follows, that if witty Men and Blockheads spend the same Time in Thinking, the first must in all likelihood waste the most Spirits: Nay, it is unreasonable to suppose, that the slow and heavy Thinking of a drowsy thick-scull'd Fellow, should require as much Agility and Workmanship of the Spirits, as the quick and sprightly Thoughts of a clear-headed, ingenious Man; and to me it seems highly probable, that there is no more Action, or great Labour perform'd in the Brain of the first, when he is as broad awake as he can be, than there is in that of the latter, when he is half asleep.

The Thinking then of Blockheads, besides that they seldom delight in it, can do them no hurt, because it does not exhaust the Spirits; and they are almost as secure

from becoming hypochondriacal, as those, that cannot Write, from being pillory'd for Counterfeiting other People's Hands.

Misom. The *Hypochondriaci* are oblig'd to you for the compliment; but I can't see, that their Wit any way disposes them to the Distemper, as Learning does; the Acquisition of which administers a palpable occasion to it.

Phil. I do not say it does: Ingenuity only makes them proper Subjects for the Disease to work upon, and the most witty Men, if they commit no Excess in those things that exhaust the finer Spirits, but divert themselves daily with Hunting, the Tennis-court, or other brisk Exercises, will be as exempt from the Distemper as the greatest Logger-heads.

Misom. The other Scruple I have respects more particularly the Cause of the Hysterick Passion in Women; which you say is the same with that of the hypochondriack Passion in Men. I want to know, since the Labour of the Brain has so great a Part in exhausting the Spirits in Men, as to be always one of the Procatartick Causes of the hypochondriack Passion, what Equivalent can you name that wastes the Spirits in Women, and is likewise able to make them subject to the Hysterick Passion: for studying and intense thinking are not to be alledg'd as a Cause in Women, whom we know (at least from the generality of them) to be so little guilty of it; and yet the Number of Hysterick Women far exceeds that of hypochondriack Men. What is it that so much consumes the Spirits in Girls of eighteen, sixteen, nay, fourteen and younger?

Phil. The Difficulty you start is very material, and what I would have taken notice of my self, if we had treated of the hysterick Passion (a) *ex professo*.

To find out the Procatartick Cause of the Deficiency of Spirits in Women, and especially young Girls, where Cares, Grief, or Study cannot be accused, we must observe that there are two Reasons why the Spirits are deficient: The one, that they are too much wasted when they are made; and the other, that there is no sufficient Quantity made of them: And after this you'll find, that in all Hysterick as well as hypochondriack Diseases, where the Deficiency of the Spirits cannot be imputed to the first, it is always owing to the latter. Before young Girls come to be Hysterick, you shall always observe, that their Blood has been much depauperated by Agues, Green-sickness, or other Cachexies, whose Origins may generally be derived from very gross Errors in Diet; and the Blood being once depauperated, from what Cause soever, it is impossible that it should yield to the Brain the Spirits which it has not.

Misom. I expect you would lay the Fault where you do; but before I allow that their Diet can injure them, I must put you in mind of what you said in your *Thesis De Chylosi vitiatâ*. If young Women eat green Fruit, Oat-meal, Chalk, Cinders, &c. it is a certain sign that they have a Fancy for them, and then in Consequence of what you have said they can do them no hurt; for when the Appetite is depraved, the same fine Spirits that prompt them to desire the Trash, will likewise enable the Stomachick Ferment to digest it, as you have demonstrated in those remarkable Instances of the great Quantity of Herrings, and the infected Onion, that were devoured without the least Injury to the Parties that fancy'd them.

^a *Professedly*.

Phil. That the Digestion in every body is much influenced by the Appetite, is undeniable: But the Efficacy of the Spirits in assisting the first is only proportionable to the greatness of the Impression they receiv'd from the latter; and where we see the one is but indifferent, we cannot expect the other should be extraordinary. There is a vast Difference between the violent Eagerness of Longing, and the fanciful hankering after Trash, generally observ'd in Green-sickness Girls; of whom it cannot be so properly said, that they long for what they eat, as that by degrees they have brought themselves to like what at first was indifferent to them, and tasted by them only out of Wantonness.

But tho' we must not think, that the Force of the Spirits upon the Ferment can be excessive, but where the Impulse of the Fancy upon them has been the same; yet I would not, as you perhaps imagine, derive the Crudities immediately from the Trash they eat. It is very obvious, that young Women devour a world of unripe Gooseberries, Currants, Apples, &c. so much as almost to live upon nothing else for Weeks together, without perceiving the least Disorder in their Stomach or Bowels all that time; but then I have often observed, that, notwithstanding they had not felt any Indisposition for a great while, in tract of time, even tho' they mended their Diet, they became Cachectick, and after that Hysterick. From this Observation, which all Physicians that have seen many Hysterick Cases in Young Women, must likewise have made, it is plain that the Stomach continues to perform its Office, tho' the Aliment is improper, as long as the Ferment of it is supply'd with the Spirits it requires; but that whenever they fail the Digestion is spoiled, though our Food be never so laudable.

Misom. But from the ensuing Illness in these Cases, I would rather judge, that the Trash they eat had not been well digested, tho' the Disorders of the Stomach had not been minded, and perhaps not perceived; for if the Chyle had been good, it would have been turn'd into good Blood, which the Cachexies, they are brought into, evince that it was not.

Phil. No Faults of all our Economy can less conceal themselves from us, than those of the Stomach; the least of them are soon perceptible, either by Vomiting, Pain, Belches, Tensions, Grumbling, Laxity or Density of the Belly; and you may depend upon it, that where none of these Symptoms appear, the Stomach duly performs its Office. We can ask no more of the Stomachick Ferment, than that insinuating itself into the Pores of our Aliments it dissolve the Contexture of them, and make them into a Pulp, as being afterwards mix'd with the Gall and Pancreatick Juice, shall suffer its finest Parts by the Peristaltick motion to be transcolated through the Glandules of the Intestines into the Lacteal Vessels: This is all that belongs to a good Chylification, which may be done, and yet the Chyle be unfit to make good Blood, if the Aliments are improper; the Stomach is only to be consider'd as a good Cook, who may dress every thing to the best Advantage, but cannot make the Flesh of a starv'd old Cow so nutritious, as that of a young well-fed Heifer. If the Food, when we eat it, is not endued with a great many balsamick, spirituous, or what we call nourishing Parts, the Blood cannot receive them from it, how well soever it may be assimilated with its Mass.

Misom. But if the Blood be so poor and void of Spirits, that no sufficient Quantity can be separated from it to serve the several Functions that require them, How comes it that the Brain does not suffer first of all by this Scarcity? Why is the Soul her self not sensible of it? For it is very probable that the very act of Thinking, in which you say so many of the fine Spirits are employed, would be immediately interrupted, or at least impair'd by such a general Want of them, which yet we don't perceive it is.

Phil. We must believe that it is in the animal Government as it is in all others; whatever Poverty the Country endures, the Court has always Plenty, and very rarely is destitute of Necessaries. It is reasonable to think, that the Soul, who has such a great Command and is so arbitrary over the Spirits, will have them (if they are to be had) for her own immediate Use; and consequently the Brain, where she keeps her more particular Residence, shall be the last Place in all the Body that wants them¹³²; and yet this often happens in hysterick Women, when any thing extraordinary disturbs them; for upon the least Violence, that hurries any Quantity of Spirits another way, the Brain remains unsupply'd, as is manifest from their fainting Fits, in which the Act of Thinking is always more or less impair'd.

Thus I have shewn, that the Want of Spirits in hysterick Women may often be imputed to their Diet; in which the Generality of them commit so many Errors. But besides these, their idle Life, and Want of Exercise, likewise dispose them to the Disease; but above all, the innumerable Disorders, which upon account of the menstrual Flux, and the whole *Uterus*, they are so often subject to.

Misom. If the Chyle be but nutritious, and the Blood is stock'd with Spirits, they will be separated from it in a sufficient Quantity to supply the stomachick Ferment: So that as long as they take care of having good Food, according to your Notion, it will be well digested, and the Blood will continue to abound with nutritious Parts: The Consequence of which must be; that those Women can have no Defect in their Spirits, unless they are wasted by something extraordinary, whatever Distemper they may otherwise labour under.

Phil. This perhaps might follow from what I have said, if the Paucity of the Spirits was the only Fault that could attend their Mass. For tho' we don't know, as I have said already, what Particles that incomprehensible Mixture consists of, yet it is certain, that the spirits may be peccant in Quality as well as Quantity; and by reasoning *a posteriori* we are sure that they must have a *Crisis*, Tone and Elasticity belonging to them, as well as the Blood.¹³³ When People in Health by some Accident suffer a great Loss of Blood, the Vessels are quickly replenished, and the Blood as to its Quantity is soon restored, but the Quality of it is not so easily recover'd; The same may be said of the Spirits, and the constitutive Parts of them; it is possible that the Body may abound with both, and yet each of the Mixtures, by being destitute of some necessary Particles or Qualifications, be very imperfect. The Muscles and Tendons in Women may consist of the same Number of Fibres, and be as much extended with Spirits, as they are in Men; and yet how vast is, generally speaking, the Difference of Strength that is between them? This without doubt depends only upon the Elasticity of the Spirits; Women are not of that robust Constitution as Men are, they are sooner offended by, and more impatient of, Heat, Cold, and other

Injuries; they have not that Constancy, Resolution, and what we call Firmness of the *Mind*, which yet the Mind has nothing to do with: For tho' Grief, Joy, Anger, Fear, and the rest of the Passions, make greater Impressions upon them, and sooner discompose their Bodies, yet the Qualifications, in which we excel them, are only owing to a certain Tone and Disposition of the Spirits, and no ways related to the Soul. Their immortal Substance is without doubt the same with ours, and it is only the Body in which we differ: We are of a stronger, but they of a more elegant Composure, and Beauty is their Attribute, as Strength is ours: Their Frame, tho' less firm, is more delicate, and themselves more capable both of Pleasure and of Pain, tho' endued with less Constancy of bearing the excess of either, generally speaking. This Delicacy as well as Imbecility of the Spirits in Women is conspicuous in all their Actions, those of the Brain not excepted: They are unfit both for abstruse and elaborate Thoughts, all Studies of Depth, Coherence and Solidity, that fatigue the Spirits, and require a Steadiness and Assiduity of thinking; but where the Advantages of education and Knowledge are equal, they exceed the Men in Sprightliness of Fancy, Quickness of Thought and off-hand Wit; as much as they out-do them in Sweetness of Voice, and Volubility of Tongue.

Misom. I believe, with you, that the Tone and Elasticity of Spirits in Women are weaker than they are in Men; but if their Tenderness and Imbecillity dispose them to be Hysterick, Why does it not the same in Children, in whom the Contexture is yet more infirm?

Phil. To answer this, I must divide the hysterick Women into two Classes; a Distinction, which tho' it is very obvious in Practice, and as material to the Knowledge of the Cause in each, is yet generally overlook'd by Physicians. There are Women, in whom, besides the Frequency of Fits and the Disorders of the Nerves, to which they are subject without any visible Cause, we may discover many Symptoms of Indigestion, that are familiar to them, even when the Paroxysm is not upon them; These are the Hystericks of the first Class. But then there are others, that being to all appearance in perfect Health, upon some Accident of Grief, Passion, Surprise, immoderate drinking, &c. are thrown into convulsive Fits; these Women as soon as the Fits are off are well again, and almost sure that they'll never have any more, unless some new Violence disturb them afresh: These, several of which have not a Fit in many Months, others are Years without them, and some have but one or two in all their Lives, I call Hystericks of the second Class.

After this we'll examine, how much the Imbecility of the Contexture of Spirits in Women contributes to the Cause in either. First, that it renders them all obnoxious to what is the immediate Cause of the Disorders in the Functions of the Brain and Nerves of both, I mean a Confusion of the Spirits, is as evident, as that the weaker an Army is the sooner it is routed. But besides this Confusion of the Spirits to make the Distemper habitual, and render Women Hysterick of the first Class, there is requir'd, and always observ'd, another Antecedent Cause, that is able to bring about the Confusion I speak of, without the Assistance of any external Violence, and that is the Deficiency of the finer Spirits, which the Stomachick ferment suffers by, whereof I have said so much: To the producing this Effect, the Imbecility of them is likewise so far accessary, that where there is any thing to exhaust the Spirits, the

Weakness of their Contexture occasions it to be sooner accomplish'd; and the less Force serves to dissipate and destroy them: One Hour's intense Thinking wastes the Spirits more in a Woman, than six in a Man.

Having thus demonstrated how far the Weakness of the Spirits disposes Women to the Hysterick Passion, let us now see, what Effect the same Cause must have upon Children. From what I have said it is plain, that it cannot make them Hystericks of the first Class; because the finest Spirits can hardly ever be deficient in them: For in the first Place, if we examine whatever may consume them, we shall find that they commit nothing to exhaust them. The Action of Thinking is but very imperfect in them, whilst they are very young; and even when they grow up, they are so diverted, and continually employed by the Glut of new Images, which the Senses are always crowding in upon them, that it is impossible they should think long on one thing; and the Organs of Generation not performing their Functions yet, nothing is consum'd that Way; so that their Stomachs can never want: and it is very reasonable to think, that proportionably greater Quantities of the finer Spirits are employed about their Ferment, than in adult Persons, which are likewise agreeable to all the Observations we can make of the most obvious *Phænomena*.

The second Cause, from which I said the Deficiency of Spirits might proceed, is likewise seldom found in Children. The nourishing Diet commonly provided for them, their sound Sleeps and florid Blood; but above all their sharp Appetites and quick Digestions, so manifest from the Frequency of their Meals and Stools, leave us no room to doubt, that in their tender Age the Spirits are more copiously separated into the Brain, than they are at any time after—

Misom. I am answer'd as to the first Class; But ought not the Weakness of the Contexture of the Spirits, which without the Concurrence of any other internal Cause renders all Women more or less liable to become Hystericks of the second Class, as soon as any Violence offers, have at least the same Effects upon Children, in whom it is more conspicuous?

Phil. If you would have given me Leave I was a going to tell you, not only that it ought, but likewise that it has; this is the Reason why Children are so much troubled with Fits. In them they are generally the Fore-runners of the Small-Pox, and Attendants on many other Fevers: Vast numbers of Infants are afflicted with them, not only upon Discrasies of the Blood, but likewise upon the least Disturbance of their inward Œconomy; and Boys as well as Girls, of five or six Years old, and upward, are often Epileptick, 'till the Years of Puberty, when the Contexture of the Spirits growing more firm they are cured by Nature, without the Assistance of any Physick. The Fits I now speak of, I know are not call'd Hysterick, but they proceed from the same Original, and without that Imbecility of the Contexture of the Spirits, Children, nay Infants, as well as the Women, which I call Hystericks of the second Class, would be no more subject to Fits than Men.

Misom. Your Observations on the various Contexture of the Spirits, please me extremely; but when you spoke of Women, and the Elegancy of their Frame, I thought that I heard you say, that among other things they exceed the Men in off-hand Wit, where the Advantages of Education and Knowledge were equal. Wit, according to your own Definition in the active Sense, is *an Aptitude of the Spirits*,

by which they can nimbly turn to and dexterously dispose the Images received: This Aptitude is not adventitious, but the Gift of Nature; then what are Education and Knowledge to Wit, which every Body knows is not to be taught?

Phil. More than is commonly imagin'd: For it is evident, that the Aptitude of the Spirits, which you call a Gift of Nature, is no more so, than the Aptitude of the Organs of Speech, and that both are only to be attain'd by Imitation and Practice. Of this we see a thousand Instances every Day in Infants, before they have yet learn'd to Speak or Think distinctly; in whom it is so visible, that striving to imitate the Actions of others by degrees they model their manner of Thinking, as well as that of Speaking, by what their Senses communicate to them of the Thoughts and Words of those they converse with. What Nature can bestow consists only in the Formation and Quickness of Parts, the rest of the Aptitude depends wholly upon Use and Example. (a) *A teneris assuescere multum est*, is as true of the Manner of Thinking, as it is of any thing else.

Misom. Would you give all to Education, and allow nothing for Birth? Is that of *Horace* all Fiction?

(b) *Fortes creantur fortibus & bonis;*
Est in Juvencis, est in equis patrum
Virtus: nec imbellem feroces
Progenerant aquilæ columbam.

Phil. You leave off too soon.

(c) *Doctrina sed vim promovet insitam,*
Rectique cultus pectora roborant.

Horace does not lay greater Stress upon the Birth of *Drusus*, than upon his Institution under *Augustus Caesar*. It is demonstrable from the great Resemblance between Children and Parents, not only in the Lineaments and Features, but Temper and Diseases, that some of the Spirits that are mix'd with the Seed must contain many things that are of an incomprehensible Nicety; yet whatever it be, it can only belong to the Formation of the Parts, and the little it can influence the finer Spirits may be soon over-rul'd by the force of early Example, as we may learn from the same *Horace*, in his admirable Comparison between Youth and a new Earthen Vessel.

^a *To use ourselves to Things from our Youth is of great Moments.*

^b *The royal Bird of Mighty Jove*

Never brought forth a timorous Dove

To valiant Fathers, valiant Sons succeed;

Thus Bulls from Bulls descend, and Martial Horses breed.

^c *Yet the best Blood by Learning is refin'd,*

And Virtue arms the solid Mind.

Creech's Translat.

[*Horace, Odes, IV, 4, "In Praise of Drusus."*]

- (a) *Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem*
Testa diu——

If we could so exactly judge of the Gifts of Nature, as to chuse two Children of equal Parts, that (if you will) should likewise be of the same Parents, of which the one should be brought up at Court in Crowds of witty People, and the other in the Country among a few stupid Peasants, it would quickly convince us, that the greatest part of what we call Wit is adventitious, and not natural: but how insensibly we copy after and model our selves, both as to Thoughts and Actions, by those we converse with, is evident from the innumerable Cautions all Moralists have given against Evil Company.

(b) *Corrumpunt bonos mores colloquia prava*, is a Saying of that Veracity, that tho' a Heathen Proverb, St. *Paul* himself has not scrupled to give it a Place among the Oracles of Eternal Truth. So much for the Aptitude of the Spirits; as to the second Part of the Definition, the dexterously disposing of Images received, there is no doubt, but the Aptitude of doing this would be very insignificant, or at least of little Use, where the Brain has not received a great many of those Images, in which, and the Retention of them, it is certain that Knowledge consists.

The brightest Parts then stand in need of Education and Knowledge, before the Operations of their Brain can produce what we call Wit; and it is commonly owing to the two latter, that the first are render'd conspicuous; for how little we are to expect from the Briskness and Agility of the Spirits, without the Aptitude of them, and a sufficient Stock of Images received, is plain from what we frequently observe in the wild roving Expressions of sprightly Children, in which there are often found a great Vivacity of Genius, Ignorance, and Absurdity all at once.

Misom. The Reason why I have made you say so much on account of the Hysterick Passion, is that a Daughter of mine is miserably afflicted with it, and She is the Patient I hinted to you Yesterday. She is forty Miles off; but my Wife, who is very much troubled with Vapours herself, will give you an exact Account of her Distemper. She told me, that as soon as she could dispatch the two Ladies you saw at Dinner, she would come up to us; in the mean time I desire you would look upon some of these *Recipe*'s.——All these are purging: When first of all I began to be Costive, this did me abundance of good.

R *Pulpæ passular. minor*, ʒij *arcan. duplicat. Mynsicht. ʒi Salis Armon. depurati, ʒij flaved. cort. citri, aurantior recent. aa ʒfs. Misce & c.s.q. Elect. Amar. minor. f. Elect.*¹³⁴

This would serve me for eight or nine times taking; [and when it was too gentle, I have sometimes taken the following *Bolus* with Success.

R *Calomelan. gr xij. Diagrid. gr viij. Res. Jalap. gr. vj Elect. lenit Syr. Esp. c. ana q. s. ut f. Bol.*¹³⁵

^aA new earthen Vessel retains long the Flavour it is once imbued with.
 [See Horace, *Epistles*, book I, 2, "To Lollius," 69].

^b*Evil Communications corrupt good Manners.*

[1 *Corinthians* 15:33. It is also one of Erasmus' *Adagia* (974, I, X, 74)].

At last I grew weary of *Bolus*'s, and often took this Potion.

R *Passular. minor.* ʒij. *Conquantur in aquæ lib. ij. & Colaturæ ferventi adde fol. Sennæ.* ʒ fs. *Cremor. Tartari* ʒi. *Sem. fœnic. anis. contusor. ana* ʒij. *Colat. adde Syrup. Rosac. Solutiv. C. Hellebor.* ʒiii. m. f. *Apoz.*¹³⁶

Of this I took a Wine-glass full twice a-day; and sometimes instead of the Currants I had it made with Prunes. [Sometimes I had a fancy for Powders. Among these you'll find the *Pulvis Cornachini*, and the *Pulvis Basilicus*. Here is a Prescription I took but once.¹³⁷

R *Diagrid.* *Cremor. Tartar. Sal ejusdem ana gr. x m. f. Pulv. Sumend. ex vehicul. quovis innoc.*¹³⁸

It work'd tolerably well, but I remember it was very nauseous; and so are the two former: The Smell of *Diagridum* is very offensive to me. This *Apozem* I have taken several times; I like the working of it very well, but there is too much of it. I ate a Slop of above a Quart in one Morning.

R *Aq. Strathamens.* lb iv. *coque ad consumpt. dimid. sub finem addendo Zingiber. Sem. Carvi ana* ʒi. *Colat. adde Mann. opt. ʒi Aq. cinam. fort. Sal mirab. G. ana.* ʒ fs. m. f. *Apoz.*¹³⁹

After all, *Senna* is a fine Medicine: This Potion has several times work'd with me, when nothing else would. You'll say it is not under-dosed.

R *Infus. Sen.* ʒiv. *Elix. Salut. Syr. espina c. ana ʒi. m. f. pot. p.*¹⁴⁰

All these are Cathartick *Bolus*'s and Potions that I have made use of, when my Body refus'd to obey the more gentle Medicines: I can recommend but few of them, because they generally put me to great Misery; what I have the least to complain of was,

R *Magist. Scammon. Jalappæ ana gr x. Cremor. Tartar. ʒi. Sal. Jovis gr. iv. Trochisc. alhand, gr. i Misce & c.s.q. Diaprun. lenitiv. f. Bolus, sumen. ane superbibendo pot. seq.*¹⁴¹

R *Baccar. Juniper. Lauri ana ʒi. Semin. fœnic. anisi, Carvi ana* ʒij. *Fol. Sennæ ʒij. Coquantur in aquæ fontan. ʒx. & colatur. ʒvi. adde Syr. rosac. Solutiv. de spina Cervina ana ʒ fs. f. pot.*¹⁴²

This for some Years never fail'd of purging me, and injur'd my Bowels less, than other Prescriptions seemingly more artful; but this, as all other Purges, that ever I try'd, as soon as it had done working, lock'd up my Body a much as it had been before, and it is above three Years ago, that I have left all Catharticks: I find far greater Benefit by Emeticks; for besides that they always ease the Pains in my Stomach, and lower Belly, I have observ'd that the Stools they procure are less offensive to my Bowels, than the best of Catharticks. I have taken all manner of Vomits, gentle and strong; from *Carduus* Posset to the *Helleborus albus*. Sometimes I have fancy'd the *Asarum*, and have made use of it both in Substance and Infusion; but neither that, nor the *Oxymel Scylliticum*, *Decoctum digitale*, *Ipecacuana*, or any other Vomit, has done me half the good, that I have constantly receiv'd from the Antimonial ones; and having tried all of them, I now stick close to that old-fashion'd Emetick, the Antimonial Cup, or the Infusion of *Vitrum Antimonii*. This I prefer to the *Sulphur auratum Antimonii*, the *Regulus Antimonii martialis*, *Crocus metallo-*

rum, Mercurius Vitæ, or any Emetick Preparation whatever, of that excellent Mineral.¹⁴³

Phil. It is beyond Dispute that the Antimonial Vomits taken by way of Infusion exceed all the rest, and are as safe as any; which has made me often wonder, how there could be so much Ignorance in so great an Assembly of Physicians, as that of the *Facultas Medica*, at *Paris*, which consisting of an hundred and twenty Members, did not only forbid the Use of, and by a publick Decree banish from the Commonwealth of Physick, all antimonial Infusions as poysonous; but likewise made a great Bustle to have this wise Decree confirm'd by Parliament, as at their Request it was done in the Year 1566.

Misom. But a hundred Years after they grew wiser; for the same Faculty of Physick had it repeal'd in the Year 1666, when they made another Decree, by which they voted antimonial Infusions very safe, and useful, as you may see in the *Ephem. Gallie*.¹⁴⁴

All these were Prescriptions to waste or lessen my Milt; for about eight Years ago I had a hard Swelling near the lower Orifice of my Stomach, and being persuaded it was my Milt, all the Medicines I took were directed that way; nay, once I thought that I found a great deal of good by this.

*R Specier. diacum, ʒi (l) Depurati, Rad. Pirethri ana ʒi. Ol. dest. Cumini gt. iij. M. f. Pulv. pro tribus dos.*¹⁴⁵

I afterwards found, that this Medicine, except that it has the Addition of the *radix Pirethri*, is the same as the *Diaspoliticon Galeni*, by which *Bartholetus* says, that he has cured so many hypochondriacal People. Here's another Prescription of *Galen's*, by the Use of which, he says, the Milt of Pig was consumed in three Days time, as appear'd by its being open'd.

*R Fruct. Erucae, ʒiv. Piperis albi. Nardi Syriac. Gum. Ammoniac. ana ʒij. Aridatundantur & cribentur, ammoniacum aceto scyllitico dissolvitur & pulveri additum cogitur in trochiscos, qui fiunt drachmæ pondere, danturque ex aceto mulso ad drachmam.*¹⁴⁶

I tried it a Fortnight, but without the least Success: for the Swelling rather encreas'd and grew harder, which made me conclude, that either mine was not the Spleen, or else that *Galen's* Medicine was only good for Hogs. The Method that cured me then was this; I has a Fomentation applied to the Place affected three times a-day, for a Week, and after that a Plaister: twice a-day I took a *Bolus* out of some medicated Wine, and within a Month the Hardness and Swelling both were removed, and I found my self much better. These four, except two or three Purges, were all the Prescriptions I follow'd.

*R Rad. Altheæ, hyper. ana ʒij. Cort. Rad. Cappar. chamædr. ana ʒi. Fol. Tamarsic. Puleg. Calaminth. ana m. i. Semin. Lini, Fœnu-græc. Anis. ana ʒfs. Coquantur in Cerevisiæ illipul. lb vi. Aceti lb ij. f. Decoct pro fotu. quocum quam callidissime fomentetur pars affecta ad minimum bis indies.*¹⁴⁷

*R Gummi ammoniaci, Galbani, Bdellii ana ʒij. Sperm. Ceti ʒi. Sem. Cumini, rutæ ana ʒfs. Picis naval. Ceræ flav. ana. q. s. Dissolvantur gummata cum aceto & s. a. f. Emplast.*¹⁴⁸

℞ *Rad. Zedoar.* ʒ fs. *Cort. rad. hellebor. nigri, cappar. tamarisc. aurant. naa* ʒ i. *Summitat. absynth. Ceterach ana* ʒ ij. *Sem. Agni Casti* ʒifs. *Chalyb. præp.* ʒvi. *Flor. salis ammon.* ʒi. *M. & C. S. Q. Syr. absynth. Compos. f. Elect. cujus Dos.* ʒi. *bis indies ex* ʒiv. *vini sequentis.*¹⁴⁹

℞ *Limaturæ Martis* ʒiv. *Rad. enul. Camp.* ʒij. *Raphan. rust. Gentian. ana* ʒi. *Cort. Winteran.* ʒvi. *Cinnamon.* ʒ fs. *Macis* ʒ ifs. *Ceterach. m. ij. Calaminth. m. i. Salis Tartar.* ʒ fs. *Vini albi gallic.* lb vi. *Macer. per dies octo.*¹⁵⁰

[A Year or two after I had several other Sorts of Chalybeat Wines prescrib'd me. In this the Quantity of Steel is much less than it is in the former.

℞ *Herb. Absynth. m. ij. centaur. min. m. i. Cort. Rad. Hellebor. nigri.* ʒij. *Polypod. quercin. Cort. fraxin. tart. albiss. ana* ʒ fs. *Limatur mart.* ʒiij. *Spir. sal. dul. gr. xxv. Infunde frigide in Vini alb. Gall.* lb v. *dies iv. Dos.* ʒiv. *bis indies.*¹⁵¹

This I thought did me good.] I have likewise found great Benefit in a Decoction and Electuary, prescrib'd me by an eminent Physician.

℞ *Rad. Lapath. acut.* ʒi. *Chelid. major. Sarsaparill. ana* ʒ fs. *Fol. Scolopend. m. i. Flor. genistæ m. fs. Coque in Aq. ferrar.* lb. ij. *ad dimid. & cola.*¹⁵²

℞ *Cort. Peruv.* ʒ fs. *Rad. helleb. nigri, Zedoar. ana* ʒij. *Ebor. pulver. Oculor.* ☉. *Corallor. rubr. Salis absynth. ana* ʒi. *Conserv. absynth. q. s. M. f. Elect. cujus capiat* ʒiv. *Superbibendo Decoct. præs.* lb fs. *bis indies.*¹⁵³

Here is a Cachectick Powder, which I took for six Weeks together, Mornings and Nights.

℞ *Martis pp.* ʒ ij. *Oculor.* ☉. *Corallor. rubr. ana* ʒifs. *Rad. Pirethr. Sal. nitri ana* ʒi. *Charyoph. Macis ana* ʒfs. *M. f. Pulvis, dos.* ʒij. *Ex haustu decocti ceterach. in aqua ferrariorum.*¹⁵⁴

I never found any thing of greater Efficacy against the Sour, and Wind in my Stomach, than what I read to you last, and I would never have left it off, but that I imagin'd it bound me up; after that I remember I made use of this absorbent Electuary.

℞ *Conch. pp.* ʒiij. *Oculor.* ☉. *Lapid. Hæmat. ana* ʒ ifs. *Croci Marti saper. Chryst. mont. Bol. Armen. Antimon. Diaphor. aa* ʒi. *M. & C. S. Q. Conserv. flor. genist. f. Elect. cujus dos.* ʒi. *bis indies.*¹⁵⁵

This likewise did me good; but I am now of such an unhappy Constitution, that not only Astringent, and Emplastick Medicines, but likewise Testaceous Powders, and all *Ostracodermata* make me Costive.¹⁵⁶ Last Winter I had a very stubborn Pain in my Bowels, that at last gave way to these Prescriptions.

℞ *Rad. Angel.* ʒi. *Fol. rutæ p. i. lauri. ana* N° vi. *Flor. Chamom. p. ij. Coqu. in s. q. aquæ font. & colat.* ʒviij. *adde Vini antimonial.* ʒi. *Salis gemmæ* ʒij. *Trochis. alhand.* ʒ fs. *M. f. Clysmæ.*¹⁵⁷

℞ *Myrrh. Elect. Succini flavi ana gr. viij. Castor. gr. vj. Salis vol. Ammon. gr. iv. Ol. Macis gr. ij. Conserv. Aurantior.* ʒ fs. *Laudan. Londin. gr. i. M. f. Bolus qui propinetur ex* ʒiv. *decocti sequentis, & repetatur quartâ quâque horâ.*¹⁵⁸

*R Flor. Verbasc. Chamomill. Hyperic. ana m. fs. Baccæ Juniper, Lauri ana ʒ ij. Sem. Fænic. Anisi ana ʒi. Aquæ fontan. Vini Malvat. ana ʒxij. C. & f. Decoct. pro vehiculo Bol. præscript.*¹⁵⁹

I took the *Bolus* immediately after the *Clyster*, and repeated it twice before I was eas'd.—The next is a Prescription that I have recourse to when the Pains in my Head are violent, *post longam alvi constipationem*.¹⁶⁰

*Radatur caput, & applicetur Emplastr. Vigon. c. Mercurio, & de Betonica, a. q. s. ad integrum caput, facie excepta, tegendum, Detur clyisma sequens.*¹⁶¹

*R Ol. lini rec. ʒx. Trochisc. alhand. ʒ fs. Salis gem. ʒij. M. f. Clyisma, post operationem cujus propinetur Vomitor. ex vini antimon. ʒi. Quo peracto.*¹⁶²

*R Cubebar. ʒ i. Castor. gr. x. Salis volat. succini gr. v. Bals. paralyt. q. s. ut f. Bolus.*¹⁶³

*R Rasur. Sassafr. Serpyll. Majoran. Betonic. ana m. i fs. Flor. Rorismar. Lavendul. pug. ij. Infunde in s. q. aquæ comm. & hujus colaturæ ʒ iv. adde Tincturæ Melampod. ʒ fs. Spir. Vitriol. Philosoph. gt. v. Syr. de Stæchade ʒ fs. M. f. Julap. pro vehiculo Bol. Præscript. repetend. quartâ quâque horâ.*¹⁶⁴

This I have tried several times, and always with Success as for that Part; but very often as soon as the Pain is gone out of my Head it returns into by Bowels; so that instead of curing the Distemper I only force the symptoms of it to another Place.

Phil. Most of the Bills you have read are judiciously writ, and the chief Ingredients of them enter all the Prescriptions that are generally recommended in your Distemper, by the most eminent Physicians of *Europe*, but the Intricacy of—

Misom. With your Leave, *Philopirio*, we shall break off the Discourse we are upon for a quarter of an Hour.—Here comes my Spouse, who will give you an account of the *Hysterick* case I told you of.

Polytheca. You Gentlemen of Learning make use of very comprehensive Expressions; the Word *Hysterick* must be of a prodigious Latitude, to signify so many different Evils, unless you mean by it a Disease, that, like the Sin of Ingratitude, includes all the rest: Whoever cures me, I am sure must encounter with half a score Distempers at once; for besides the Head-ach, which I am hardly ever without, I am always either troubled with the Cholic, a Pain in my Back, that reaches quite up to my Shoulders, or else a trembling at my Heart, that as it goes off leaves me so weak and faint, that I am forced to sit down, and can hardly keep upright in my Chair. Sometimes my Spirits are oppress'd of a sudden with an unaccountable Sadness, and I feel a great Weight at my Heart; at the height of this Anxiety I am often seiz'd with such terrible Fits of Crying, as if I was to be dissolv'd in Tears, by which yet I am generally reliev'd. Whilst I was a Child I was always very weakly, but about my Fourteenth Year I began to alter much for the better: I married at Seventeen, and enjoyed a great Share of Health many Years after: I had Ten Children before I was Thirty, but none since: When I was big with the last I had a Fall from a Horse, which so much disorder'd me, that every Body thought I should have miscarried, yet I went out my Time, but had a very severe Labour; and a worse Lying-in than ever I had undergone before: Since that I have had abundance of Illness, which in tract of Time has so ruin'd my Constitution, that these eight Years last past I have never been

well for two Days together. The least Cold, which I am very apt to catch upon every Occasion, in Summer as well as in Winter, makes my Head ready to split; and any thing of Anger, Vexation, Disappointment, or sudden Noise, has the same Effect. 'Tis incredible, how watchful I am forced to be over my Temper and Behaviour; for I am not only influenced by Sorrow and Surprise, but even Mirth will discompose me; nay, I am so weak, or at least so sensibly touch'd by all that happens, that when any thing is said or done much to my Satisfaction, it often sets my Back a working, and makes me tremble for a considerable time, and I am almost afraid of being pleas'd. I seldom have any Appetite, and what Nourishment I take is more out of a Sense I have of my Duty to feed my Body, than any real Desire to eat; but if at any time I make a tolerable Meal, it is a great Chance if I don't bring it all up again. No body certainly has a colder Stomach than my self.

Misom. I believe so too, or else the hot Things you are continually a taking would have burnt it up before now.

Polyth. I cannot help your reflecting upon me for it; but I am well assured, that if I should neglect my self, and was to pass but half a Day without some Cordial of other to keep up my Spirits, the Wind would so over-power and strangle me, that I should not be able to live.

I have always been of a gay Temper, ever holding up my Head as long as I was able, and as soon as the Violence of my Distemper abates, or my Pains are but tolerable, I know that my Countenance is so deceitful, as to make People think I am in perfect Health; but this Fraud of my Looks, instead of comforting me, adds as much to my Misery as the greatest of my Sufferings; for never complaining but when I am extraordinary ill, I am seldom regarded before I am ready to die. The Variety of Symptoms I am haunted with, and the short Remissions that succeed them, are all construed to my Disadvantage; whenever I discover a quarter Part of what I feel, my whole Distemper is counted a whimsey, and I have the Mortification into the Bargain, of passing for Fantastical, in the midst of so many real Evils. I never dare speak of Vapours, the very Name is become a Joke; and the general Notion the Men have of them, is, that they are nothing but a malicious Mood, and contriv'd Sullenness of willful, extravagant and imperious Women, when they are denied, or thwarted in their unreasonable Desires; nay, even Physicians, because they cannot cure them, are forced to ridicule them in their own Defence, and a Woman, that is really troubled with Vapours, is pitied by none, but her unhappy Fellow-sufferers, that labour under the same Affliction.

I am no more fond of Physicking than other People; but Necessity has no law; and you may reason as you please, but I shall never be persuaded that any thing is prejudicial to me, when by the Use of it I always receive an immediate Benefit, and am at Death's Door whenever, to humour others, I try to leave it off.

Misom. I have no mind, my Dear, to destroy the good Opinion you have either of the Medicines you take, or *Pharmænio* the judicious Apothecary, that so plentifully provides them, and did not imagine you wanted any other Advice for yourself; I thought, as the Doctor knows, that you only intended to consult him about your Daughter.

Polyth. Neither have I any other Design. *Pharmænio*, whom you are pleased to call judicious in Jest, is a skilful Man of great Experience, that understands my Constitution thoroughly; he is of Opinion that I am incurable, I have heard the same of eminent Physicians; yet he has the Patience to weigh my Complaints, or at least the Good-manners to hear them, and seldom fails of giving me Ease, even when I am at the worst; which is what others, that boast of greater Learning, either could not, or would not do; so that I should think my self unwise to leave him.—

As to the Reason, Doctor, why I spoke so much at large of my Ailments, it was first for my own Information; for tho' Excess of Grief, for the Loss of Children, of which I have buried Seven, and other surprising as well as sorrowful Accidents, have made me often faint away, yet I never was troubled with Convulsions or any other Fits, that return'd periodically, which are the greatest, if not the only Grievance my Daughter complains of; and therefore, hearing by every Body, that her Case and mine have but one common Name, and are both call'd Hysterick, I would have asked you, how two Distempers, that are of such different Symptoms, and have seemingly so little Affinity with one another, could come under the same Denomination.

Besides, I thought that the Knowledge of my Illness, and what first occasion'd it, might be of Use to you in tracing that of my Daughter, because it is she that is the Child, which I told you was my last, for whom I am to ask your Advice. This latter indeed was the chief Motive that made me say any thing of my self, and without it I would not have troubled you with so much impertinent Stuff of my own; for my Ailings I know are very trifling, at least in some People's Opinion. But as to my Daughter——

Tho' I had a miserable Time of her, as I told you already, and a great deal of Illness after it, yet the Girl, as she was very well then born, so she continued healthy, and was a fine thriving Child. She bred her Teeth with abundance of Ease, and did run alone sooner by a quarter of a Year, than any Child I ever had; about her fifth Year she had the Small-pox, which were very favourable to her, and I think she has had two or three Fits of Sickness besides that were not very considerable, which were all the Illness that attended her 'till she was eleven Years old; when about the Middle of *August*, having eaten a great quantity of Mulberries for two or three Days together, she was taken with a Scowring, which being stopt two or three times return'd as often, and lasted 'till the latter end of *September*. She had hardly been well of it a Week, but she was seiz'd with a *Quartan* Ague: After eight or nine Fits, that shook her very much, by great Persuasion she took the Bark, and was cured; within a Month by taking Cold she relaps'd, and having had four or five Fits more, rather worse than the former, by using the same Remedy she got rid of it the second time; but still neglecting to repeat the Bark as she ought to have done, it always came again and again, and held her off and on near two Years; at the end of which, from a plump well-look'd Girl, she was become a mere Skeleton, and had no more Colour than this Apron. Five or six Months before her Ague left her, her Appetite, which hitherto had been good, declin'd visibly, and she began to complain of a swimming in her Head, which daily increasing, in a short time came to such a height, that often, unless she caught hold of something, it would throw her down.

She was Thirteen when I sent her into *Northamptonshire*, where she had not been a Week, but she lost her Ague. In less than two Months I heard, that she was much mended, and had a very good Stomach; she had lived there near a Twelvemonth, and I made no question but she was perfectly recover'd, when she writ me word, that she was grown very tall; but that since the Giddiness in her Head, which she formerly used to complain of, had left her, instead of it she had now and then been troubled with fainting Fits, that lasted several Minutes; adding as an Excuse for her not acquainting me with it sooner, that the Fits coming upon her but very seldom at first, she thought that as her Strength encreas'd they would have worn off, but that finding them to become more frequent, and grow worse every Day, she thought it her Duty not to conceal it from me any longer. I sent for her up immediately, and wanted for no Advice: Being now grown wiser her self, she was very willing to take whatever was order'd her, and followed abundance of Prescriptions, but found no manner of Benefit by any thing for many Months, and her Fits continued a long time very afflicting to her: When they held her but a little while, they came very often, and she had sometimes five or six of 'em in a Day; but if they stayed away longer than ordinary, they were more lasting; and before that Winter was expired, she has lain in them eight or nine Hours, and been sometimes a whole Day, before she could be brought to her self again.

As soon as the Season was come, I sent her to the *Bath*, which together with the Medicines she took there gave her great Relief, and every body thought her Fits had left her; but this Happiness was of no long Continuance, for in less than a quarter of a Year, and at times, she has been as bad since as ever she was before. They were uncertain, without keeping to any Period all along; but now ever since last *Michaelmas* she has had them constantly once a Month. The Fits she had at first of all used to give her little or no Warning, and then the Moment they went off she had a strange sort of Taste in her Throat, that she could not compare to any thing she knew: But since that, before they take away her Senses, she feels a great Oppression at her Stomach, a grumbling in her Bowels, and something, she says, rises up in her Throat, that is ready to choak her, which is presently follow'd by a Shortness of Breath; she complains likewise, that something rowls about her Belly as big as both her Fists, and she breaks abundance of Wind.

But the uncertain Fits she had before, differ'd very much from the Periodical ones she has now every Month; in the former, when they were at the worst, she was as cold as Clay, her Cheeks were pinch'd in, her Nostrils drawn together, and with her Eyes shut, and a livid Paleness spread all over her, she lay so motionless, that we could hardly perceive her to breathe, and often thought her dead: From them she recover'd with sighing, after which she open'd her Eyes, then yawn'd and stretch'd, and with her Senses, her Warmth return'd by degrees.

In the latter she has hardly any such Symptoms: The Cold, that at the beginning of them seizes her, is neither so violent nor so lasting, and in a little time is succeeded by an intense Heat, and strong Convulsions: In her Fits she sweats and is very fresh-colour'd, which out of them she is far from being. She shrieks out, mutters between her Teeth, and makes several strange Noises, which once I thought like the Crowing of a Cock. When the struggling ceases, and the Fit goes off, she is very

sick, and presently after it brings up great quantities of a Yellowish Green Stuff, so sharp, that it fetches the Skin off her Mouth. When she has quite recover'd her Senses, she is sore all over, and as weary as if she had walk'd several Miles, complains of great Drought, and remains hot for many Hours after: When all these Symptoms have left her, she is seemingly well, and has an indifferent good Appetite, 'till within a Day or two again of the next Fit; for then her Stomach fails, her Sleep is disturb'd, she has Cramps in several Places, and is very much blown up with Wind: All the time between her Fits she never cares to stir, yet complains of nothing, but an intense Coldness, as if there lay a piece of Ice in the back Part of her Head, which I believe I forgot to tell you is what I am often troubled with my self.

Misom. I always was in hopes as she came to Maturity, that the Fits by degrees would have left her; but I think she is as bad as ever she was; at least I can find no Alteration in her for the better.

Polyth. The Benefit of Nature without doubt would make some Change in her, but what disheartens me most is, that she never had the least Sign of it yet, tho' the 25th of last Month she was Seventeen Years old. Some will have it that they are not Fits of the Mother, but the Falling-Sickness, and that she'll never be cured; others say, she is under an evil Tongue; but whether there be any such thing or not I don't know.¹⁶⁵ She has closely all along follow'd the Advice of some body or other, and gone through several Steel Courses. What other Medicines she has taken my Husband might inform you; but that he has so much to do with his own Distemper, he has not time to mind any body else.

Misom. I never charge my Memory with Particulars of what People take, unless I find it does them good. I know that she has had several Decoctions of Mugwort, Feverfew, Calamint, Rue, Peony, Penny-royal, and such like, with Baths of the same; sometimes she has taken for a considerable time Testaceous Powders, and others, with Crabs-Eyes, Red-Coral, Volatile Salt of Tartar, Diaphoretick Antimony, and Bole-Armenick; at other times, Uterine, and Stomachick Electuaries, with Savin, Nutmeg, Myrrh, Saffron, volatile Salts, fœtid Oils, &c. several Sorts of hysterick Pills; but all to little or no purpose. When she was at the *Bath*, and had the longest Intermission of her Fits she never enjoy'd, since they first took her, I remember she had a *Bolus* prescrib'd her, which I thought very remarkable, and was

*R Cort. Peruv. ʒi. Pulv. secund. human. gr. x. Castor. gr. vj. Croci gr. iv. Salis Jovis gr. v. M & c. s. q. Conserv. absynth. f. Bolus.*¹⁶⁶

This she took twice a-day in six Ounces of a Decoction of Black-Hellebore and Briony-Roots, Penny-royal, Rue and Mugwort; and at the same time *in Regione Umbilici*, she wore a Plaister of *Galbanum*, *Caracanna*, *Asa fœtida*, and Oil of *Tacamahaca*.¹⁶⁷ These remedies, tho' she received Benefit from them at first, ceas'd to have the same Effect upon her, when once she was accusom'd to them. What she has made use of lately I can't tell; for it is above six Months ago, that my Wife has left the whole Care and Management of her to her Apothecary, who I suppose won't let her want Medicines: He is a famous Man among the Ladies; for making up things very palatable, and a great Lover of keeping up the Spirits. I never yet examined any liquid that came from his House, but it tasted of Wine and of Brandy.

Polyth. I know these things are chargeable, and wish with all my Heart, that neither your Daughter nor my self had any Occasion to put you to so much Expence.

Misom. I don't speak of the Charge; neither would I grudge any thing that is necessary for the meanest Servant I keep, much less for my Wife and Children, *Polytheca*; but I think it is an odd Fancy that People must have half their Diet out of the Apothecary's Shop. Can Wine or Brandy become more Cordial by being call'd Alexipharmick, or receive any Sanction by being balderdash'd with two or three sorts of Simple Waters, that are equally insipid, tho' not half so clear, as what you may have either from the Pump or the Sky?¹⁶⁸ Or do you think that a candy'd Syrup of two Years standing, because it comes out of a Galley-pot, that has a fine Label on the outside, tho' perhaps it is mouldy within, and cover'd with Furr of an Inch thick, is more wholesome to sweeten any thing with, than double refin'd Sugar, that won't stand you in half a quarter of the Money?

Polyth. To be saving, I believe, is a great Virtue; but I think it is no where so unseasonable as in the Recovery of ones Health; as to the Goodness of Medicines, I am well perswaded, that no body has better, or is more nice in them, than *Pharmaenio*; but Physick, I know, *Misomedon*, is a Chapter that you and I shall never agree about.—Pray, Doctor, your Opinion of my Daughter: What must I call her Distemper, and may I ever expect to see her cured?

Phil. As to the Name, Madam, there's no manner of doubt but your Daughter's Case, as well as your own, tho' they differ much from one another, are both Hysterick. This Disease manifests it self not so much by any peculiar Signs, which are never found in any other Distemper, as by the Complication of a great many, several of which are likewise observed in other Distempers; but a Person is properly enough said to be Hysterick, who has four or five: Otherwise the Catalogue of Symptoms belonging to it is so large, that it is impossible one Woman should have them all: For, besides the Complaints you have mention'd, Hysterick people are frequently troubled with an excessive Pain on the Top of the Head, in so small a Compass that a Shilling would more than cover it. Some have hard Swellings in the Face, Hands, Arms, Legs, and Thighs; others spit as copiously as if they were in Salivation for Weeks together. As to Fits, some are seiz'd with violent Coughs; others with Hickups; and abundance of Women are taken with Convulsive laughing. There are Fits that have short Remissions, in which you would think the Woman was going to recover, and yet last many Hours. Some are so slight, that the Patients only lose the Use of their Legs and Tongue, but remain sensible; others again are so violent, that those who are seiz'd with them, foam at the Mouth, rave and beat their Heads against the Ground; but whether they resemble an Apoplex, or are only fainting, or seem to be Epileptick, they all come under the Denomination of Hysterick, if the Patients are ever afflicted with any of the other Symptoms already mention'd, especially the strangling in the Throat (from which the Distemper has its *Latin* Name, and is call'd in *English* the Suffocation of the Womb) and the Coldness in the back Part of the Head; both or either of which (notwithstanding most Physicians tell us that the Hysterick Passion has no *Pathognomonick* signs, that is such as are peculiar to this Distemper and no other) I have always observ'd Hysterick Women complain'd of at one time or other.

My *Prognosticks* on your Daughter's Affliction are these. What you say disheartens you, gives me the greatest Hopes of her Recovery: For tho' the hot Periodick and Convulsive Fits she has now, are generally counted very obstinate, and more difficult to be overcome, than the cold uncertain ones without Motion, which she had before, when both are abstractly consider'd in themselves; yet if we examine the Stock they sprung from, and the Time in which they constantly return, we shall find, by several Circumstances, that Nature, who struggles with the Distemper, has already gain'd upon it, and points at the Relief she wants to compleat her Conquest; wherefore if the Lady's Youth and Strength be prudently assisted, I am of opinion, Madam, that she'll certainly be cured. In order to it, in the first Place, I would for one Month prescribe a Course of Exercise, and no medicines at all.

Polyth. A Course of Exercise! and no Medicines at all!

Misom. Yes, my Dear, a Course of Exercise, and no Medicines at all—I think it is very good English; tho' I confess, such Language never came from an Apothecary's Mouth, nor from a Physician's neither, that was twice recommended by an Apothecary, and therefore I ought not to think it strange if you don't apprehend it so readily.

Polyth. You are very pleasant, *Misomedon*. But how come the Apothecaries in? Or must you have a sting at them right or wrong? Sure there are honest Men among them, as well as there are in all other Callings.

Misom. So there may, for ought I know; tho' no People of any other Calling lie under so great a Temptation of being otherwise; for if an Apothecary's Business be Selling of medicines, and you commit a Patient to his Management, it is plain to me that he is left to himself to sell him as many as his Conscience will allow of, and is not this to lead him into a vast Temptation? Certainly the People that trust to their Advice must be either Fools, or think that the Apothecaries are *Saints*. Pray tell me what Grocer, Druggist, Linnen or Woollen Draper, Mercer, Gold-smith, or other Tradesman of the most reputable Employment, you can name, would you put that Confidence in, that he should sell you as much of his Commodity as he thought you wanted? It is a Trust not to be reposed in Mortals. They have a whole Shop full of Medicines, of which a great many too are in danger of being spoil'd, and would you imagine, they won't dispose of them, and vent as many as they can? Ought not every body to promote his Trade?

Polyth. But, good *Misomedon*, may I not say the same of Physicians that give their own Physick? *Philopirio* is not much obliged to you, for the fine Harangue you have made.

Misom. There is a vast Difference between Physicians and Apothecaries; for in the first place, all Physicians did originally furnish their Patients with what now they only prescribe, 'till growing weary of the Trouble they gave over that Branch of their Employ to others; but the Apothecaries were only design'd to be their Servants, and cook whatever they should order; and when there is no Physician to prescribe, there is no more occasion for an Apothecary, even in an Hospital, than there is at Church for one to pull the Bellows when the organist is out of the way. Therefore if a Physician has a mind to give his own Medicines, he only resumes what his Predecessors left off either out of Pride or Laziness, and you can only blame him for

medling with what is thought to be beneath him; but an Apothecary that prescribes, commits an unpardonable Crime; because he encroaches upon his Master, and undertakes what is infinitely above him.¹⁶⁹

Polyth. But all this is nothing to the Trust, you say, is reposed in their Honesty: Why is there not the same Danger of being over-burden'd with Physick from a Physician that finds his own Medicines, as there is from an Apothecary that prescribes them himself?

Misom. Because he has not a quarter of the Opportunity. A Physician don't come but where he is call'd, and, generally speaking, is never sent for but when People are very ill, who have always done with him as soon as they are tolerably well again: He does not haunt your Houses with impertinent Visits, under Pretence of which he can vent his Medicines among some or other of the Family: But an industrious Apothecary never waits 'till you are sick, if you are a good Customer, and a Well-wisher to Physick; for either he makes a frivolous Errand to enquire after what is his only Grievance, your Health, or else comes as if he thought you had lost your Almanack, officiously to put you in mind of the Approach of either the Spring or Fall; and having no other Design than to sell his Ware, tells you perhaps some dismal Accidents that befel such, as being in perfect Health, neglected at those Seasons to disturb their Bodies with violent medicines.

I hope, Madam, you are convinced that Physicians, tho' they administer their own Physick, have less Opportunity than Apothecaries of scattering it among the People, especially such as only apply themselves to the Cure of one Distemper; so that what I said could be no Reflection on *Philopirio*: and believe me, *Polytheca*, 'tis Madness to trust any Tradesman with such an unlimited Authority of, I can't say serving, but ranging over a whole Family.—I have known an Apothecary in an idle Afternoon go to a Person of Quality's, where they made use of him. There happen'd to be no body at home but Children and Servants, who from the highest to the lowest were all in perfect Health: If here he came for Business (you'll say) he was disappointed; but you are mistaken: the courteous Gentleman with an engaging Familiarity accosts every Servant in the House, and puts off a Purge to the Cook, a Vomit to the Butler, a Box of Pills to one of the Footmen, and a Pot of *Lucatellus* Balsam to the old Nurse.¹⁷⁰ The Children absolutely refusing to take any Physick, at least inwardly, he coaxes the little Master into the use of a charming *Dentifrice* and a sweet-scented *Collyrium* to rinse his Mouth with after it, that shall preserve his Teeth, and make them look like Ivory, tho' he was to eat nothing but Sugar and Sweetmeats all Day long; to pretty Miss he'll send a Lotion for her Hair, and a Paste for her Hands, that shall render the one as bright as Silver, and the other whiter than Snow; with a Beauty-wash for their Maid, that assisted in the perswading of them. The affable Gentleman has every Body's good word: The Children are pleas'd, the Servants recommend him, my Lady is obliged to him; and Ten to One but the first Opportunity of driving that Way, her Coach stops at his Door, and she thanks him for the Care he took of her Family in her Absence.

Tell me, pray, if a Fishmonger, or Poulterer should go to a Customer's House after Dinner, when the Master and Mistress were abroad, advise the Servants, the one to a fine Salmon, the other to a Dozen of Turkey-Poults, and send them home

accordingly, Would you not think them very impudent Rascals? Yet the first is equally guilty with the latter, their Crime is the same, and all sold their Commodity where they knew it was not wanted; with this Difference, that the Apothecary got more Money by the Trifles that cost him little or nothing, than either the Poulterer or Fishmonger, by Substantial Dainties of real Value.

Polyth. What some poor Fellows might do I don't know; but there are a great many rich Men among the Apothecaries, that would scorn the little Tricks you talk of. As to the great Difference you make between Physicians and them, I am no Judge of it; neither can I tell to which of them the Mastership belongs; but I am credibly inform'd that the latter could buy the former over and over, and that the Dispute was between a Company of wealthy Men, and a Society of Beggars. As to the Apothecary I trust to, he is none of the vulgar ones; *Pharmænio* is a Man of Substance, that has kept his Coach many Years.

Misom. So had the Baker you turn'd off last Winter, because none of us could eat his Bread. A Coach is a very weak Proof of a Man's Honesty, that comes up from Nothing by buying and selling in a Trade, where Knaves have a great Latitude. Your Daughter has had the advice of eminent Physicians that could do her no good; *Pharmænio* has all along made up the Medicines, yet after them he takes her in hand himself, and without perceiving the least Alteration sends her Loads of Medicines, Week after Week (because he is not contradicted) as much as she can swallow: I don't think a Man of extraordinary Probity would continue this for so many Months, in a Distemper, of which he must be conscious, that he knows infinitely less, than those that have tried their Skill upon her already to no purpose.

Polyth. This is your old Story; that Apothecaries don't understand Physick; but I could never see the Impossibility, why an Apothecary that applies himself to it, should be less capable of attaining to the Knowledge of it, than any body else. All the Prescriptions go through their Hands, they make them up, see the Effect of them, and are with the Patients, as much, if not more than the Physicians themselves; as for Reading, sure they may have Books too; and unless there is a Charm in the word *University*, that inspires People with Knowledge, I am told that as for publick Dissections, Hospitals, Physick-Gardens, and other things that are necessary to the Study of Physick, a Man may meet with three times more Opportunity of improving himself that way in *London*, than either at *Oxford* or *Cambridge*. I know there are strange hidden Qualities in the Air, the Soil, and the Water, and have often heard some Places yielded Cheese, others Butter, that could not be made so good any where else, tho' they had the same Kine, and to all appearance better Pasture; I believe the same of Brewing, tho' they have the same Malt; but it is the greatest Mystery to me in the World, that it should be the same with the learning of Arts and Sciences, tho' they have the same Opportunity. Therefore, pray, *Philopirio*, let me have it out of your own Mouth, what is the Reason, that a young Gentleman of four or five and twenty, who has lived seven or eight Years at *Oxford*, as soon as he comes hither, should be allowed to know more of sick People, than a Man of above fifty, that has daily convers'd with them in and about this populous City, and been in good Business for twenty five or thirty Years together.

Phil. I must beg your Pardon, Madam, if I don't study Reason for what I don't believe my self: I am altogether of your Opinion; and an Apothecary that, being well-vers'd in Anatomy, Economy, and the History of Diseases, has seen the Practice of able Physicians, and daily conversing with sick People made judicious Observations of his own, for twenty or twenty five Years, I would defer as much to in matters of Physick, tho' he had never been ten Miles out of *London*, and was wholly ignorant of Languages, Poetry, Logick, Philosophy, and every Branch of the Mathematicks, Arithmetick not excepted, as I would to the most Learned Professor, that had practis'd the same time either at *Oxford*, *Cambridge*, *Leiden*, *Montpellier*, *Aldorph*, or any other of the most famous Universities of Physick in Christendom.¹⁷¹

Misom. This is prevaricating, my Dear. *Philopirio* has no mind to disoblige the Apothecaries any further, than by administering his own Medicines, and therefore refuses to come to the point: he is in the right, that he would defer a great deal to such an Apothecary as he describes: And if he had added Botany, and the Preparation of Medicines, he might have said the same of a Hosier or a Haberdasher of Small-wares; the Question is not, what such an Apothecary deserves, but where he is to be found, or at least what Probability there is that any of them should be so qualified, or take such Pains, when they have other Fish to fry. When a Man is out of his Time, has a Shop to look after, Servants to mind, Acquaintances to seek, and perhaps a Mistress to court, or a young Wife to please, and a Family to maintain by his daily Profit; What Leisure or Inclination can you suppose he will have, not only to begin, but go through a prolix, laborious Study, to which by his Trade he is as great a Stranger as a Colour-Grinder to the Art of Painting? For if without any Skill in Anatomy, and the History of Diseases, which *Philopirio* spoke of, he pretends to jump into Practice, he is never to be trusted; and, tho' he had seen thousands of Patients, and ten thousand Prescriptions, is really as impudent, as (to keep up to my Simile) a Colour-Grinder that without any Skill in Drawing would pretend to manage a Pencil. The one may see the first Strokes chalk'd out, prepare the Colours himself, and afterwards see his Master at Work: The other hear the Patients examin'd, make up the Medicines himself, and observe their Effects; yet neither of them, without being first instructed in the various Rules, as well as first Rudiments, of the respective Arts, shall enter into the Skill of either the Physician, or the Painter, tho' they look'd on them 'till Dooms-day. What Pity 'tis the Imitations of both cannot be equally expos'd to view; that the unskilful Management of the one might be as conspicuous, as would be the ridiculous Dawbing of the other.

Polyth. I am glad you are pleas'd with your own discourse; but otherwise there is no arguing with you; for you never keep to your Text. Instead of giving a Reason why it is better to have medicines from a Physician, than an Apothecary; you talk of the Probability of what People would do, or would not do, when they set up for themselves. I don't understand the Rules and Rudiments you speak of, but if they are not at leisure to learn them when they are out of their Time, they do it without doubt whilst they are in it; or else what do they serve it for? Are not Apothecaries, as well as Physicians, all along brought up to Physick?

Misom. Yes, to bray it in a Mortar, but not to prescribe it. As to the Reason you speak of, I did not question but convincing you, that the Physicians had not the same

Opportunity of putting off their Medicines upon all Occasions, had been a sufficient one; I did not tell you, they were honester than the Apothecaries, and yet something ought to be allowed for Principles and Education: Even in the Choice of a Footman, I would make a Difference between one, that had lived for seven or eight Years in a Bishop's Family, and another that had serv'd the same time among Pickeroons, or the Pirates of *Madagascar*; but without making Devils of the one, or Saints of the other, to judge impartially of the Morality of both; let us take a view of the Difference that is between them, both as to the Parts that are given them, and the Stages they act upon, in order to capacitate themselves for their several Employments.

A Physician is brought up among gentlemen, and from the most early beginning of his Studies is treated, and every way encouraged to behave himself as such: He has the Advantage of passing his Youth, where Wit, Learning, and Good-manners are in greater Esteem, and the base Thought of Lucre more despis'd than any where else; and, whatever may afterwards debauch the Principles of his generous Education, he is ever taught to direct his Labours to a noble End, the Godlike Office *of restoring the Afflicted*.

An Apothecary commencing with the servile Drudgery of a Foot-boy, is bred in a poultry Shop, which by his Labour he is first made to clean, and afterwards to furnish. If he be not a Natural, by comparing together the supine negligence of his Master in the dispensing of Medicines, which he leaves to his Servants, and the uncommon Pains he takes in the disposing of them, in which he is wholly employed himself, he soon enters into the main Drift of his Trade, and before he is out of his Time, he is not only made perfect both by Precept, and Example, in all the insinuating Tricks and other vile Artifices in vogue among ordinary Retailers, but likewise imbued with the barbarous, as well as sordid Craft of pinching on the one hand the industrious Wretch, that, for want of Employ, attempts to live by Simpling; and squeezing on the other an unreasonable Profit from the pitiful Halfpenny of the most Necessitous.

Polyth. You are very impartial, I must confess, in giving every thing the worst turn your Wit will let you, in speaking of the one; and setting a handsome Gloss upon all that can be said in Commendation of the other, without a Syllable of the Debaucheries of Youth, and the many ill Examples they meet with at the Universities, that the World is so much convinced of.

Misom. Indeed, Madam, you wrong me: I have exaggerated nothing, nor made any Hyperbole in the Account I have given of either; and the Reason that the Physician's Education has an agreeable Aspect, whilst that of the Apothecary looks a little upon the dismal, is, because every thing one meets with in the first is commendable, and there is nothing handsome belonging to the latter. If I had touch'd on the dissolute Lives of some Reprobates at the Universities, and mentioned either *Oxford* or *Cambridge*, what must I have said of *London*, that in Corruption of Youth exceeds all the Universities in Christendom? But I had no other Design, than to hint at the different Habit each of them must have acquired, as to Meanness or Generosity of Spirit, from the Masters that taught them, and the Stations they were bred in; and had no mind to meddle with the Vices, that either of them might be personally guilty of: To blacken the one, I could have spoken of the Badness of Medicines, and their

undermining of Physicians; and if I would have favoured the other, I must have traced them both from their Childhood, Infancy and Birth, and shewn the Difference, that is generally observed as to Circumstances and manner of living between People, that can afford their Children University Learning, and others that are forced to put them out to a Trade, that may be followed with little; for there is no doubt, but the Minds likewise of Children are even in their tender Years differently influenced, by either the creditable Plenty of the one, or the sneaking Scantiness of the other.¹⁷²

Polyth. There is no heed to be given to what you say; for at other times I have heard you rave worse at the Physicians, than now you rail against the Apothecaries; and I am perswaded, that, if you had a mind to change Sides, you would soon find Matter for Satyr on the first, and Panegyrick on the latter.

Misom. Not as to Education; it is impossible.

Polyth. I am sure you would first of all have said, that the Apothecaries are brought up Scholars, and laid a mighty Stress upon their understanding *Latin*, the Language you have such a Value for; in the Second—but the best of it is, they stand not in need of your Praises, more than they do in fear of your Lash: The generality of the World pays a great Deference, to them in the relation to Physick; their Advice is made use of, even in noble Families, with Applause; many of them are eminent Men, and in those poultry Shops (as you call'd them with so much Spleen) they get abundance of Money.

Misom. That's what all other Dealers complain of, that they get so much Money by laying out so little: As to the eminent Men they have among them, they are only so in respect to others of the same Trade that are not, and what can be said of that is no Compliment to the whole, as I suppose you design'd it; for there is no calling or Occupation without: There are eminent Barbers, and without doubt eminent Coblers, but that is nothing to the Credit of their Employment. The Dignity or Repute of Trades is not derived from the Riches of private Persons, that are of them: but the Excellency of one Trade above another is only calculated by, and altogether depends upon, the Sums of Money given with Apprentices, and the Stocks that are required to set up in those Trades: And in regard of either, they can hardly be reckon'd among the Shopkeepers of a middle Rank, at least they are many degrees below the better sort of them; and all the Eminency they can boast of is, that for fear they should over-run the Country, they are obliged, before they can be made free, to a Year's Servitude longer than other Mechanics.

But to come to their *Latin*, which you think I ought to lay a great Stress upon, because I esteem it; I must inform you, that it is with the understanding of that Language, as it is with having an estate; there are several degrees of it: Some People have a small Income, they can hardly subsist upon; others are well to pass, and can live handsomely; a third Class are very Rich; and above them there are Men of Princely Revenues: The Estates, the Generality of Apothecaries possess in *Latin*, are of the lowest degree.

Polyth. How then come they to understand the Physicians Bills so readily, that are all writ in *Latin*?

Misom. The Body of a Bill is only compos'd of Medicines they have in their Shops, and contains nothing but the Names of what they sell: The only Difficulty

they can meet with lies in the Directions at the Bottom, which being commonly very short, and studiously made, as little intricate as possible, are easily understood by the poorest Scholar; yet I have seen them puzzle even a Wholesale Apothecary, when by Inadvertency the Physician has made use of a more elevated Style, than ought to be writ in to those Latinists; as to the Words themselves, let them be never so hard, they have a Dictionary for them; which is as constant a Shop Companion as the great Mortar, tho' not so much in sight; so that their Business does not require them to understand *Latin* in greater Strictness, than Freeholders are obliged to be Men of Estates.

Polyth. Nay, *Misomedon*, I remember, that formerly I have heard you complain you could make nothing of those Bills; so that they must be either more difficult, than you talk of, or else the Apothecaries are better Scholars than your self.

Misom. I confess, that before I knew any thing of Physick I did not understand them; but this was not for want of *Latin*, but because I was yet unacquainted with their Short-hand, a few Heathen Characters they have borrowed from the Astrologers and Chymists, and some abominable Terms that the Physicians, in behalf of the Apothecaries, are obliged to use, that the Meanness of the Ingredients may be concealed from the People that are to pay dear for them.

Phil. But give me leave to tell you, that you put a wrong Construction upon what is done with good intent. A great many Patients are either too nicely squeamish, or else unreasonably scrupulous; and if prescriptions were to be understood by everybody, some might have a Prejudice, others an Aversion, against Medicines, that yet are of great Vertue; and therefore instead of making use of their plain *Latin* Names, they are forced to wrap up several things, either in *Greek*, or else a Circumlocution; so they call a Toad *Physalus*, Quick-silver *Zibach*, and the *Peruvian* or Jesuit's-Bark, *China Chinæ*, *Pulvis Patrum*, &c.

Misom. That Excuse may pass upon those that know no better; but what Prejudice have People against the White-wine, that in *Bate's Pharmacopœa* it must be called *Leucænus*¹⁷³. If the Obscurity was only invented for the purpose you mention, it would be commendable, and I would not take it amiss; that they would call old Cheese *Palætyrus*, and Dog's-turd *Cynocropus*, because a great many People have an aversion to both; but can you say the same of Bran, or Spring-Water, that the one must be call'd *leptopityron*, and the other *Hydropege*, and twenty other things that are as innocent, and almost as cheap as either of them, and yet industriously disguis'd under hard Terms, that a Stranger to their Cant, tho' he is the best Latinist in the World, can never understand, unless he is likewise a good *Græcian*, and something of a Conjuror besides? What Reason can Physicians have for writing *Confectio Fracastorii*, for that which formerly they constantly call'd *Diascordium*, but that the Name of *Diascordium* is known to every body?¹⁷⁴ By which it is plain that all the Harm to be fear'd from these things being understood, respects the Apothecary, and not the Patients. If you ask for a Drachm of any Electuary, and two or three things more, singly, the Apothecary shall perhaps not have the Impudence to demand above Six or Eight Pence for all of them, tho' then he gets half in half; but if by the Physician's Order, in physical Characters, they are put together, and divided into two *Bolusses*, he'll not only set you down a Crown for them, but give the Physician

an ill Name if he should order them to be taken in Ale, Wine, Tea or any thing that you are not oblig'd to have out of his Shop; because he hinders him from selling, where it might handsomely be done, two *Vehicles* for three Shillings, that, with the Phials that hold them, seldom stand him in much more than so many Pence.

But if you think I don't do them Justice, pray, my Dear, give your self the Trouble of reading this little Book, where the Mystery of compound Medicines, as to their intrinsic Value, is very handsomely unfolded: It is the Work of an eminent Physician, Dr *Pit*, who, for the Good of the Publick, has shewn the vast Difference between the prime Cost that Simples are bought at from the Druggists, and Herb-women, and the extravagant Rates they are sold at by the Apothecaries, when they have disguis'd them in Mixtures of specious Titles.¹⁷⁵ It is very diverting, and a Treatise of that Usefulness, that no body, who deals much with Apothecaries, should be more without, than Merchants and others that have Business at the Custom-house, and employ a great many Porters, Carmen, &c. ought to be without the Book of Rates.

Polyth. It may be so, but I have other things to mind.—Oh the tormenting and throbbing Pain I feel in my Head! This Minute my Brains are a boiling, and if there were half a dozen of Trunk-makers at work under my Skull, I don't think I could be sensible of more Noise and Beating than I am. I can stay no longer. What Directions you leave with my Husband, or else in Writing, my Daughter shall punctually observe. I beg your Pardon, *Philopirio*, for my Rudeness, but I am forced to withdraw. Oh! the Misery of——

Phil. I am afraid you have disoblighd your Lady, and made her leave us much sooner then otherwise she would have done.

Misom. How strangely can a Distemper alter People for the worse! She was once the gayest-temper'd and most obliging Woman in the World, and now she nothing but thwarts and contradicts me: I did expect it would put her into the *Vapours*, if I spoke more against the Apothecaries than she could answer.

Phil. (a)——*denique te ipsum*
Concute.——

Whilst you speak of your Lady's Distemper, and the Change it has made in her, I doubt you forget, that you have likewise one of your own, of which you have confess'd the same; it could not be to please her, that with so much Eagerness you snatch'd at every Opportunity of speaking against the Apothecaries; and indeed, in my Opinion, you have been too severe upon them. If they were as careful of providing good medicines, as I know some are, the Dearness of them might well be borne with.

But it is a general Observation that the beloved Theme of all *Hypochondriaci* is Satyr; which I know is worth nothing, unless it bites.

Misom. I have charg'd them with nothing but what is literally true, and could have said abundance more, if I would have come to some Particulars, which if they vex me I shall one Day or other acquaint the Publick with.

^aAt last look into and examine yourself.
[Horace, *Satires*, Book I, 3].

[*Phil.* You made the Price of *Bolusses* greater than they are generally charged at; and the Book you recommended is not only wrote with great Partiality, but several things in it likewise are not true.

Misom.] It is Generosity in you to be an Advocate for the Apothecaries; for very few of them speak well of *Philopirio*. But let's have done with the Subject: (a) *Valeant Pharmacopolæ*, with the (b) *Ambubajarum Collegia*, and the rest of the fine Company *Horace* puts them in.—Pray tell me now, what Course of Exercise you would have my Daughter go through.

Phil. Every Morning, as soon as she rises, (which I would have her do before Six) let her be swung for half an Hour, then eat her Breakfast, and get on Horseback for at least two Hours, either galloping or trotting as much as her Strength will permit her. Immediately after this let her be undrest, and by some Nurse or other chafed or dry-rubb'd for a considerable time, 'till her Skin looks red, and her Flesh glows all over: let her begin to repeat the same Exercises about Three in the Afternoon, and after Supper keep upon her Legs two Hours before she goes to Bed. The Swing I speak of may be made after what manner your Daughter fancies most; that which they call a Flying-horse, makes a very agreeable Motion; but if she be apt to be giddy, she may swing in a Chair, or other Seat to which she is fasten'd; otherwise a Rope tied with both Ends to a Beam is sufficient: However strange and absurd this Prescription may appear, I can assure you that I have seen admirable Effects of it.

Misom. What you recommend is no new thing, it is without doubt (c) πτερος ἐν αὐρῳ, and consequently the Swing must be either the same with, or else an Equivalent for, the *Petaurus* of the Ancients.¹⁷⁶

Phil. I am not much concern'd about either the Name or Original of Swinging, tho' what you say of it expresses my Meaning very well, and that Motion which resembles a flying in the Air, is the Exercise I require. A great Part of your Daughter's Distemper lies in the Brain and Nerves, and I could never meet with any thing so innocent, that was half so efficacious in strengthening and reviving the Spirits, as the Motion I speak of.

I don't pretend to know any thing of the Seat of *Quartan*-Agues, but Experience teaches us, that where they are of long Continuance, they generally leave Obstructions of the Lower-Belly behind them. That this was your Daughter's Case, is evident from the emaciated as well as Cachectick Condition it had reduced her to. Considering every Circumstance, tho' her Ague has left her four Years, and she gain'd Strength since, and is grown tall, it is very natural to think, that all the *Meseraick* Vessels, the *Glandules* of the *Intestines*, and other Passages, are not yet entirely clear'd of those morbisick Remainders; and it is certain, that to remove those obstinate Stoppages (d) in *Hypogastrio*, there is not a more effectual Remedy than Riding: It is incredible, to those who have not observed it, what powerful Influence the repeated Succussions of a Horse have upon those Parts, as well to

^aLet us leave, and bid Farewell to the Apothecaries.

^bSocieties of Fiddlers.

[Horace, *Satires*, Book I, 2].

^cTo fly in the Air.

^dIn the lower Belly.

digest, as to eliminate whatever crude or otherwise peccant Matter they may contain.

The chafing, or dry-rubbing, I speak of, does not only levigate and beautify the Skin, open the Pores, and promote Perspiration; but likewise by quick'ning the torpid Motion of the Blood in the Capillary Vessels, it enlivens the Circulation of its whole Mass, attenuates the Lymphatick Juice, and by squeezing it through the Fibres of the Muscles is a vast Help to Nutrition.

Misom. But might not marriage be as effectual as all these Exercises?

Phil. Yes; but I never prescribe an uncertain Remedy, that may prove worse than the Disease; for not to speak of the many Inconveniencies the advising it often puts people to (a) (*præterquam quod janua aperit nequitie*) in the first place it may fail, and then there are two people made unhappy instead of one; Secondly, it may but half cure the Woman, who lingering under the Remainder of her Disease, may have half a dozen Children, that shall all inherit it. A Physician has a publick Trust reposed in him: His Prescriptions by assisting some ought never to prejudice others. Besides that a young Lady has no Reason with the same Fortune to expect such an agreeable Match, whilst she labours under so deplorable an Infirmary, as if she was in perfect Health; therefore let her either be first cured, and then marry without being injurious to herself, her Husband, or her Posterity; or else remain single, with this Comfort at least in her Affliction, that she is not liable to entail it upon others who should be no less dear to her than her self.¹⁷⁷

I know every thing that can be said of the *Veneral* Ferment, the Power it has over all the Fluids, and the Means that can most effectually raise it; yet from frequent Observation I can assure you, not only, that the three Exercises I mentioned are jointly of greater Efficacy upon every Part of the Body as to the enlivening it, but likewise that the repeated Motions of only the first will often quicken and invigorate the Blood in such a manner, as in raising the Spirits and mending the Complexion not to be inferior to the (b) *Amplexus Viriles* themselves.

Without Marriage then you may depend upon it, these Exercises will assist and revive Nature, which in your Daughter has of late been fatigu'd and oppress'd with Loads of Physick. It is observable in Spiders, when any thing besides their Prey falls into their Nets, that disturbs them, they don't strive to remove it with their Legs, lest that should more entangle it, but endeavour to get rid of it by continual shaking of their Webs, which generally proves successful. I have often thought of those Insects, when I have seen the Variety of Motion alone expel heterogeneous Particles and remove Distempers, which Remedies more likely to outward Appearance would have fix'd for ever, and render'd incurable.

If you would be further satisfy'd of the Advantages to be expected from the Rules I have now given, see what *Sydenham* says of Riding, or *instar omnium*, read *Fuller's* (c) *Medicina Gymnastica*, where the Power of Exercise in the Cure of the Chronic Distempers is set forth in much better Language than I shall ever be Master of.¹⁷⁸

^a Besides that it opens a Door to Vice.

^b Conjugal Embraces.

^c A Book so called, treating of Exercise for Health.

Misom. I very much approve of your Prescriptions, for I naturally hate Physick, and have often wonder'd, that all *Gymnastick* Rules are so wholly laid aside among us, when it is evident that the Physicians of old *Greece*, whom every body owns to have been the best, never undertook the Cure of any Distemper either Chronic, or Acute, without; tho' considering how much the Warmth of their Climate, as well as the Simplicity of their Diet, was beyond that of ours, they seem to have stood in less need of it by far than our selves. What *Sydenham* says of Riding, I remember very well, and have received Benefit from it more than once my self¹⁷⁹: The other Author you recommend, I have likewise perused two or three Years ago; tho' long before that, I had read the learned *Mercurialis*¹⁸⁰; who, as *Le Clerc* says of him, searches to the Bottom of those things. *Fuller* has writ in an admirable Style, and I was wonderfully pleas'd with him, 'till I came toward the latter end—I'll shew you the Passage, here it is, p. 239. *Suetonius* tells us, *That Germanicus was cured of a Crurum Gracilitas, as he expresses it, I suppose he means an Atrophy, by Riding.*¹⁸¹

I would have every body make the most of his Argument, but I hate a Man should wilfully pervert the plain Sense of a good Author, merely to make it serve his turn. The matter of Fact is this; *Suetonius* describing the Person of *Germanicus*, from Head to Foot, tells us, that in his Youth he had Spindle Legs, but that by frequent Riding, this Defect had been much remedied. From this, what Mortal would suppose that he had an Atrophy?

Phil. This is a piece of Criticism of small Importance, and whether *Germanicus* ever had an Atrophy or not, is very immaterial to the Scope of *Fuller's* book; I hope such a small Mistake could never make you dislike all the rest.

Misom. Truly when I had seen this I threw by the Book, and took up a Prejudice against all I had lik'd before: (a) *C'est outrer la chose*; but I hate to be impos'd upon and when an Author, to perswade me, flies beyond what the thing in reality will bear, I have done with him, and the more witty and elegant he is, the more I suspect him: Besides, I am of *Sofia's* mind in the *Andria*: (b) *Nam id arbitror adprime in vita esse utile, ut ne quid nimis*. Exercise, without doubt, is good for ones Health, where People can bear it; but I shall never believe that it will cure all Distempers, or ought to be prescrib'd to a Man in a Fever, as *Herodicus* did, who was the first that order'd *Gymnastick* Rules by way of Physick. Could any thing be more extravagant than what *Plato* relates of him, that he advised some Patients to walk from *Athens* to *Megara*, which was five and twenty Miles, and as soon as they had touch'd the Walls of that City, to come back the same Way without stopping a Moment?¹⁸² Would ever Mortal expect such a Prescription from any Body but a Collegiate of *Bedlam*? and yet this worthy Gentleman was the Master of *Hippocrates*, that you all make such ado about.

Phil. The chief Instruction *Hippocrates* had in Physick, was from *Heraclides*, his Father; that he learn'd likewise of *Herodicus* is true, but how little the clear-sighted Pupil follow'd him in the Errors of his Practice, or approv'd of them, may be seen

^a *It is running upon Extreams.*

^b *For in my Opinion the most useful Maxim in Life is, in everything to avoid Excess.*
[Terence, *Andria*, Act I. sc. 1, 33].

in the Sixth Book of *Epidemics*, where he blames his Master for pretending to overcome the Fatigue of Sickness with another Fatigue, and says, that he had killed several that were ill of Fevers, by too much walking, wrestling, and Fomentations. It is beyond Dispute that *Herodicus* over-did it; but as for *Plato*'s ridiculous Story of him, it is to all appearance, as the learned Le Clerc says, no more than a Calumny upon him, to expose the Physicians that prescrib'd Gymnastick Rules.¹⁸³

Misom. But do you think they will be sufficient to cure my Daughter of her Fits?

Phil. I don't intend to trust to them alone. By the time that she has continued the Course I have order'd, for three or four Weeks, and her Body is thereby freed from her Load of Physick; I shall see a great Alteration, and from thence be able to judge, what further Remedies are to be apply'd; a few internal Medicines, perhaps, will compleat the Cure: but if her Case seems to require more, I shall besides them order Baths, Fomentations, &c. and perhaps Bleeding or Cupping, according to the indications I shall receive from Nature, (a) *quæ quo vergit ducenda est*, and by such Management her cachectick Habit will be changed, her Blood exalted, and all the necessary Secretions performed: Upon the Eruption of the (b) *Catamenia*, her whole Body will be invigorated, her Countenance become florid, and her Fits if not wholly cease, every time visibly diminish, both as to Strength and Duration, 'till Youth and Nature thus powerfully assisted on all sides, shall have entirely triumph'd over the Distemper; which (c) *summon aspirante numine*, I dare promise will be accomplish'd in a few Months, not only in your Daughter, but in any other in the same Condition.

Misom. I wish you Success, *Philopirio*. Depend upon it, your Orders shall be punctually comply'd with——But what must I do with my self? The Vomit I took this morning by your Direction has work'd very well, as I told you before we came up; my Stomach is very easy, and I am much less disturb'd with Wind in my Bowels than I was Yesterday; but this is no more than what I am used to: Vomits always relieve me for the present.

Phil. I would have you take two more, resting a Day after each; then, whilst the Season is so favourable, take the benefit of the Country, and a wholesome Air. As to Rest and Exercise, follow these Rules; Immediately after your first Sleep, what time soever you may wake, rise, but never leave your Chamber before the Sun is up; an Hour after take your Diversion upon some gentle, but merry Horse, which continue as your Strength and Pleasure shall direct you.

[*Misom.* I believe exercise in the Morning will do me good. (d) *Optimum obso-nium labor senectuti*.

Phil.] The same Exercise repeat at five in the Evening; and after Riding, both Nights and Mornings, make use of a warm Bath, with emollient Roots and Herbs; before Bed-Time, walk half an Hour, or longer if you can; the rest of your Hours, relax your Mind from Cares, but avoid Idleness, and never suffer a Moment's time to lie upon your hands; be intent upon no one Business above an Hour, not follow

^a Which ought to be led that Way to which it is inclin'd.

^b Courses.

^c With the Blessing of God.

^d A Proverb, importing that moderate Labour is very wholesome to Old Age.

any Diversion above two, and let Part of every Day's Employment be contriving how to spend every Hour of the next. Let your Diet be nutritious and inoffensive, and your Cookery be simple, natural, and I won't say unartful, but not *operose*. As for Example, let your Fish be neither stew'd nor fry'd, nor your Flesh be otherwise than boil'd or roasted; and neither of them be previously salted. If you love Mustard, the keenest, as well as the most innocent, is that which being baked and pulveriz'd and well-sifted, is made up with fair Water instead of Vinegar.

[*Misom.* You would not bid me (a) *Sinapi victitare*: I am peevish and cross-grain'd enough as it is.

Phil. You'll think this very low and trifling, I know.

Misom. Not at all. But I can't stifle a Proverb, when I am put in mind of it. I despise no part of Knowledge, and think nothing to be low that is useful. (b) *Zenonium est & lentem coquere*; and all Physicians should be good Cooks, at least in Theory.]¹⁸⁴

Phil. Besides Mustard, make use of no manner of Sauces (Salt and Pepper only excepted) but plain Butter for Fish, and the natural Gravy for Flesh. Be content with one Dish at every Meal, and in the Choice of them consult your Palate; tho' if you can equally like them, in your Case Fish is to be preferr'd to Flesh.

Misom. I am glad of that, for I am a great Lover of all manner of Fish, and have often fancy'd that it agreed with me better than any thing else.

Phil. If so, I can advise you to a Dish, which tho' cheap, and in *England* unregarded, is for its Goodness of inestimable Value: What I mean is Stock-fish, a kind of Cod that is dried without being Salted.

Misom. (c) *Pro Thesauro Carbones*.

Phil. I expected you would laugh at such a mean, as well as uncommon Prescription; but believe me, *Misomedon*, nothing nourishes equally with it, that is as easy of Digestion, as it is. But this is not at all: It powerfully corrects not only all peccant Acids of the Stomach, but likewise the Acrimony of the Blood, and fills the Body with volatile as well as balsamick Juices; the Fish I speak of, and Grout or Burgoe, make up almost the whole Diet of the *Dutch* Sailors, who are fully as robust, and for the generality more healthy at Sea, than those of other nations that are fed at dearer Rates.¹⁸⁵

[*Misom.* (d) *Mira de lente*.

Phil.] As to the Relish of the Mess, I own it is not very inviting to them that are Strangers to it; but as it is plain, so it is altogether inoffensive; it has no manner of ill Taste, and less Smell than any other preserv'd Fish: Those that don't love it, only complain that it is flat, and insipid; yet by others that esteem it (among which I have known many Epicures, and Men of exquisite Palates) it is counted not only savoury,

^a To live upon Mustard: which is proverbially apply'd to those who are of a gloomy, sour, and unsociable Temper.

^b A Proverb, importing, That the Knowledge of the meanest Things is not unbecoming a Philosopher.

^c Coals instead of Treasure. A Proverb used when Men are disappointed, and get Trifles when they expected great Matters.

^d A Proverb, made use when vile or mean Things are lightly extolled.

but delicious, and is generally more coveted than any thing else, by all that have once been used to it, if they are forced to be any considerable time without.

Misom. (a) *De gustu non est disputandum*: I am no *Dutch-man*; however I could use my self to any thing, if it was for my Health, but can't imagine what Rarity there can be in Stock-fish: To strong people that are brought up to Hardship it may be a sufficient Diet to keep them alive, and perhaps as harms-less an Aliment as it is a poor one; but what is that to be compared to the noble Nourishment there is in Salmon, Lobsters, Prawns, or well-fed Silver-Eels, provocative Oysters, or Luxurious Cray-fish?

Phil. I agree, with you, that the latter are not only of a more grateful and delectable Flavour, but likewise a richer and more powerfully restorative Food than the first, a thousand times; but then they are only fit for people, that either are in tolerable Health, or if weak and languishing, at least labour not under such a mutinous Habit of deprav'd Concoction as your self. For I have generally found that to those who are much infested with Winds, and a vitriolick Sour, the generous Food you speak of is very offensive, which I have but rarely observ'd of the coarse Mess I recommended.

It is possible that the Salmon, Eels, Oysters, &c. consisting of fine, tractable, and altogether nutritious Particles, require (to be converted into a laudable Chyle) a more gentle Ferment than those Stomachs afford, in which being hurried away by the violent Acids that surround them, they are for want of an adapted *Menstruum* turn'd into Crudities, and so only help to encrease the turbulent (b) *Saburra* that involves them: Whilst the Stock-fish, in which the Aliment is more allay'd with gross and terrestrious Parts, is more able to resist those heterogeneous Acids, and by reason of its Viscidity, not so soon forced to submit to the sole Cause of Winds, the preternatural Fermentations they meet with.

But I would not have you lay any Stress upon my shallow Reasonings, which being only conjectural, are liable to be fallacious; this is certain, that *cæteris paribus*,¹⁸⁶ in the Distemper we treat of, as to the (c) *Ructus*, and other troublesome Signs of Indigestion after Meals, the richer Food shall be always more complain'd of than the Poorer. I would not have insisted so much upon, or troubled you so long with such a despicable Trifle as this may seem to be, if I had not known more than ordinary Effects of this neglected, but admirable Food, both from my own and my Father's Experience, who was likewise a Physician, and whom I have heard more than once declare, that to the Use of it he had often ascrib'd the greatest Share in the Cure of Patients, to whom he had advised it in several Sorts of Cachexies, and even Consumptions.

Misom. I shall certainly try it.

Phil. It will be worth your while, depend upon it, if once you can get a liking to it.

^a *There is no disputing about Taste.*

^b *Load.*

^c *Belches.*

[*Misom.* You ask'd me either Yesterday or the Day before, whether I had read *Baglivi*: Pray don't you love Stock-fish your self?

Phil. I own I do: It is a very delicious Dish to me.

Misom. I thought so.

Phil. But what Connection is there, I beg of you, between reading *Baglivi*, and your asking me that Question?

Misom. He has wrote a Chapter, you know, (a) *De Idolis Medicorum*; where he tells us, that Physicians always prescribe to others what they like themselves.

Phil. Believe me, *Misomedon*, that my prescribing it to you, had no relation with my Liking or Disliking it.

Misom. And believe me, *Philopirio*. I expected no other Answer from you. I don't labour to have my Physician (b) *Confitentem reum*: But don't you think there is something in what *Baglivi* says in most Physicians?¹⁸⁷

Phil. A great deal, I believe, not only in Physicians, but in all Mankind. If Stock-fish had not relish'd with my Palate, I believe I should have said something concerning the Taste of it. But (c) *Homo sum & humani a me nihil alienum puto*.

Misom. I must take care, I see, how I charge a Man home, that is so ready to acknowledge his Frailties, as your self. But certainly *Baglivi* had a great deal of Reason to complain of this Idol. I have known a Physician, who lov'd Wine, that maintain'd the Usefulness of it in a Fever; and another, who never drank any, that allowed his Patients Tea and Coffee even in nervous Cases.

Phil. It is impossible to lay down general Rules for Diet that shall not be disagreeable to some People. No *Regimen* of Life can be contriv'd that suits every body; nor is there any Food so delicious that it pleases all Palates. When in your Case I told you, that I preferr'd Fish to Flesh, it was with a *Proviso*, if you really liked it; and I never prescrib'd it, before you had inform'd me, that you thought it agreed with your Stomach. There are many to whom all Fish in general is offensive. I have met a young Man upon whom it had the same Effect, as if it had been a rank Poyson. Whatever Sort of Fish he had try'd to eat, tho' in a small Quantity, it always swell'd him up, 'till he was ready to burst; which Symptom was succeeded by a violent Vomiting and Looseness that lasted for many Hours. He was a Servant, and had been meanly educated in a Country, where the Poor live most upon Fish; which was the Reason, that he had often been forced to make the Experiment against his Will. I saw him one Morning my self, that his Hands and Face were all come out in large Blotches, much worse than if he had been stung with Nettles; and when the Cause of this came to be examined into, it was found, that to wash himself, he had taken the Water our of a Pail in which, unknown to him, some Stock-fish had been steep'd over Night. The Blotches did not tingle, and without giving him any Uneasiness went away in two or three Hours time. The Fellow said, that Fish-water had always the same Effect upon any Part of his Skin.

^a *Of the Idols of Physicians.*

^b *One that confesses himself to be guilty.*

^c *I am a Man, and there is nothing that other Men are liable to, which I think my self exempt from.*

[Terence, *Heauton Timorumenos*, Act I, sc. 1, 25]

Misom. This is very remarkable, and that one Man's Meat is another Man's Poyson was here literally true. Among the Writings of Physicians that treat of this Subject of Eating and Drinking, it is much easier to find out every ones particular Idol, than to find one that has none. Many of them are inconsistent with themselves. It is generally believ'd, that white Meats are the easiest to be digested, and yet Pork is forbid to weak Stomachs, than which, nothing is whiter if it be good.

Phil. By white Meats are commonly meant Chickens, Turkeys, Rabbits, Veal and House-Lamb: And that there are many People of weak Stomachs, who digest these things very well at the same time that stronger Meats are offensive to them, is certain.

Misom. But why have most Physicians such a Spight against Fowls with flat Feet?

Phil. Because they are Water-Fowls, which are not so easy of Digestion as others. When Men treat of these things they speak in regard to Valetudinarians, People of weak Stomachs: Otherwise (a) *Sanis sunt omnia sana*. Ducks, Geese, Beef and Pork, are as wholesome Food to a Man in Health and of a good Constitution, as Veal or Chickens.

Misom. I know of a Clergyman, who is but of a weakly Constitution, that can eat heartily of Ducks and Geese, without perceiving any Symptoms of Indigestion after them; whereas half the Quantity of Veal would infallibly throw him into a Looseness.

Phil. Veal, and Lamb too, have that Effect upon some Constitutions, but one does not often meet with them.

Misom. I believe there is a great Difference in Meat, as to Digestion, tho' it is of the same kind, and that the Flesh of an old tough Hen is not so easily concocted, as that of fine tender Beef.

Phil. This latter you would not find true in some People. What is difficult to the Teeth is often easy to the Stomach; and it is not so much the Hardness or the Tenderness of the Fibres, which the Meat is composed of, that influences the Digestion, as the Quality of the Juice, the Nourishment that is contain'd in those Fibres. When that Nourishment is too powerful for the Stomach it will be offensive, tho' it requires no chewing at all; as is manifest from the ill Effects, that rich Soops and high Sauces generally have upon tender Constitutions and Persons of a bad Digestion: Nay, plain Gravy, or Broth if it be very strong, will often offend a Stomach, which the same Quantity of the very Meat they were made of, eaten with Bread, would have agreed with very well.

Misom. I am of your Opinion, that no general Rules for Diet can be given, that shall suit all People: Nay I know by my own experience, that the same Meat does not always agree with the same Persons; and there are several Things which I dare not eat now, when I am at the best, that formerly sate very well upon my Stomach: But there being so little Certainty in these things, what Rule must one go by? And I must ask with *Horace* (b) *Quali igitur victu sapiens utetur?*—

^aTo those that are in Health every thing is wholesome. *A Proverb.*

^b*What Rule of Diet then must a wise Man follow?*

[*Horace, Satires, Book II, 2, 60.*]

Phil. Every body ought to consult his Stomach, and whatever agrees with that perfectly well, is wholesome for him, whilst it continues to do so. There are often Particularities discover'd in Stomachs and Digestions, that are unaccountable, and would never have been found out but by the Observation of the Persons that take notice of them in themselves. Milk, Honey and Eggs, are three animal Productions that abound with fine, supple, balsamick, and nutritious Particles, and are easily digested, generally speaking, by the most infirm and craziest Constitutions: Yet there is not one of the three, that is not highly disagreeable to some Stomachs even of robust People, that eat and can digest almost every thing else.

Misom. You put me in mind of what I heard once of an eminent Physician who prescrib'd Medicines as sparingly as your self: The Stomach, said he, is the Conscience of the Body; whilst that is easy a Man has no Trespasses in Diet to answer for.

Phil. The Allusion is very just: I like the Doctrine, and advise every body to live up to the Belief of it.

Misom. But my bodily Conscience is often so scrupulous, that it reproaches me with every thing I eat or drink, if it has any Taste at all. What must a Man do with such a Stomach?

Phil. Do! What you do: Consult a Physician to have it mended.

Misom. And so trust the Direction of ones Conscience to Idolaters, as most of them openly are.

Phil. Openly; as how? I don't understand you.

Misom. May I not say this, when I see Men set up and publicly worship their Idols, whilst they are writing for Reputation, and to make themselves known to the World? What Physician has wrote professedly upon any one Herb, Plant, or other Simple, that has not done this, and said more in Commendation of it, than ever will be found true? How extravagant are the Praises that have been bestow'd upon Trifles, and even vile Things! Those who have once taken a Vegetable or other Drug under their Patronage, generally treat it, as Biographers, or rather Romance-Writers, do their Heroes, and seem on all Occasions to have sworn to stand by it with their Lives and Fortunes.

Phil. What you complain of is first learn'd at School, where all Boys are taught to make the most of their Theme, according as they are to speak for or against things, and there is hardly any thing that some have extoll'd beyond its Worth, which others have not run down with as little Justice. There is a vast Pleasure in saying something that is not recorded to have been ever said before.

Misom. Or else no Man would have taken up the Cudgels or Acids, and maintain'd, that sour things were the most wholesome in the World, when the generality of Physicians in all Ages had pronounced them to be hurtful to the Body, and the Cause of many Diseases. What fine things have *Schroder* and several others told us of *Bezoar*, the Occidental as well as Oriental!¹⁸⁸ That they are Alexipharmicks and Sudorificks; that they are of great Efficacy in the Jaundice, the Palpitation of the Heart and Epilepsies. How extensive have they made the Virtues of them! For

besides the Distempers already named, it is said, that they are good (a) *in partu difficili*, and at the same time that they cure the Stone and Melancholy. It has long past for current that they are animal Substances, that are produced in some sort of Goats or Deer in the *Indies*: But several have made Enquiries into this Affair, and we can hear of none that ever saw this pretended Stone taken out of any of those Animals: Therefore we have all the Reason in the world to think, that we are imposed upon in this Drug by the *Indians*, and that it is a Composition, a thing made, and not a natural Stone.

Phil. If *Bezoar* be a factitious Substance; either the Secret, how to make it, is in very few hands; or the Ingredients, some of them at least, must be prodigiously dear: one of these two must be true; otherwise it would grow cheap in time: But on the contrary we see, that as the Consumption of the Oriental *Bezoar* has increas'd in *Europe* by degrees, so the Price of it has gradually been advanced; which is never seen of things that may be procured by Art or Culture.

Misom. But whether it be a production of Art or of Nature, it is plain that it is good for nothing.

Phil. I can say but little for or against *Bezoar* from my own Experience. I don't believe the tenth Part of what some have said concerning the Virtues of it; but I am as far from taking every thing for granted, which others have said to depreciate it. When I see a Man have an Idol of his own, I don't trust to his Judgement on the Idols of others. What quantity of Oriental *Bezoar* is consumed in the Shops, is used in our *Gascoign's* Powder, than which, nothing in the general Practice of Physicians, is more often prescrib'd in most Disorders of Children, and slight Fevers of adult Persons; and it is by every body look'd upon as an harmless and every way inoffensive Medicine.¹⁸⁹

Misom. That latter *Encomium*, I believe, might with equal Justice be bestow'd upon Powder of Post, if given in as small a quantity.¹⁹⁰ *Bezoar* does no hurt: Very well: But what good does it do; I mean to the Patients; that it should be purchas'd at such an enormous Rate? What Benefit can be expected from it, when the Experiments that have been tried upon that dear Drug, have made it evident that there is no more Virtue or great Efficacy in it, than there is in Dirt or in dead Earth?

Phil. Indeed, *Misomedon*, I endeavour to curry Favour with no Man; but I cannot go those Lengths. We are far from being so well acquainted with all the Properties and Power that belong to the Stomachick Ferment, to the Gall, and to the Pancreatick Juice, as to be positive, that singly or jointly they are not capable of opening the Texture of a Substance, and drawing from it something that shall be serviceable to the Blood and salubrious; when all other Tryals, to discover any Virtues in that Substance, shall have proved ineffectual. *Bezoar* has neither Smell nor Taste, and we are not able either by the Help of Fire, or any known *Menstruum*, to discover that there are any Virtues in that Drug: All this I allow; but I don't think, that from thence we can conclude; that taken inwardly it can be of no greater Efficacy upon any part of the Body than dead Earth or Dirt.

^a *To forward Delivery in hard Labour.*

Misom. I commend you for your Moderation. But the Idol that *Baglivi* chiefly complain'd of, and which we have not touch'd upon yet is, that every Physician is influenced and over-ruled by that Passion, which in him is predominant; and that the Temperament and Inclinations of most of them may be traced in their Practice.

Phil. So the *Resolute and daring*, says he, *prescribe violent Remedies without Necessity; whilst the Cowardly and Fearful will suffer a Patient to die, rather than try an efficacious Medicine, even in the most desperate Cases.* Which shews that *Baglivi* understood human Nature.¹⁹¹

Misom. It shews some Knowledge I own, but I think it too superficial for an *Italian* at the Court of *Rome*. What he says may be true, of open and unartful People, whose Heads run upon their Patients and the End of their Calling: But among the Crafty and Polite, that in reality mind nothing but themselves and getting Money, there is no Appearance of it. Those, who make their chief court to common Fame, and expect all their Happiness from popular Applause, are all equally cautious and follow prudential Rules, not from any Principle of natural Timidity, but the Dictates of acquir'd Cunning. Shall I hazard my Reputation, say they, on the possibility of saving a Patient, when I may be sure of preserving it as well when he dies as when he lives? Nay it is certain, that should a Patient miscarry after a daring Medicine, a great Clamour would be rais'd against the Physician by his Enemies; and if *Pearl* or *Pulvis e Chelis*, with *Aqua Lactis* or *Cerasorum* did ever kill a Man whose Distemper was not sufficient to do it without them, I'll be crucify'd.¹⁹² No wise Man ought knowingly to lay himself open to the Censures of a malicious World, and therefore to prescribe otherwise, than in the safe common Road, is what a Man cannot answer to his Family. This is the Doctrine of the Times: an Age, in which no Man is fit to live, that cannot be supple to his Interest, and make all other Passions give way to the most fashionable, a violent Desire after Riches and Greatness.

Phil. When we hear a Man complain of the Times, every body thinks him to be out of Humour. Human Nature is the same in our Age that it has been in all others under the same Circumstances. All Lovers of their Country, and even the best of Men, have always wish'd and pray'd for Wealth and Power, with the Encrease of Knowledge to the Nations they belong'd to; and they have no sooner enjoy'd what they wish'd for, but they have always grumbled and shew'd themselves impatient to bear those Evils which ever were and ever will be the Consequences of those Blessings in all large and flourishing Societies. The Theory of Virtue was never better understood than in the Reign of *Augustus*; but consult your own dear *Horace*, and he'll inform you in more than fifty Places, how wretchedly deficient that Age was in the Practice of it.

Misom. I know there have always been (a)—*fœcunda culpæ Sæcula*; but the present exceeds them all. There never was more Selfishness or less Appearance of a publick Spirit in the World, not only in your Profession but in all other Callings and Occupations, than there are now. Every Body takes care of one, and makes haste for

¹⁹¹Ages fruitful of Guilt. *An Expression of Horace.*

[*Horace, Odes*, Book III, 6, "Moral Decadence."]

himself; it's no matter what becomes of the rest; as if they were all at (a) *Extremum occupet Scabies*.—Whatever may be the Idol of other People, my great *Foible* you see is rambling—Pray, what further Directions would you have me follow?

Phil.] Let your Bread be thoroughly baked, and chuse that which is most crusty, or if your Teeth will let you, eat the whitest sort of Sea-biscuit, the Use of which is of greater Efficacy against the Sour in the Stomach, than most Powders given for that purpose. Avoid all Malt Liquors, and instead of Beer drink a Decoction of *French Barley*, with a few Hops, and a pretty deal of Liquorish boil'd fresh every Day [: Of this, whether you are a-dry or not, take at least half a Pint two or three Hours after Dinner, when the Symptoms of Indigestion are most disturbing].

For your Breakfast, before you get on Horse-back, take a small Mess of Water-Gruel, Burgoe, Panado, or Barley-broth, to which you may add a Glass of some rich Wine, such as *Malaga*, *Madera*, or *Sherry*: The same you may repeat after your first bathing, or instead of it take a Glass of Tent and a Toast.¹⁹³

Nutritious Suppers I have often prescrib'd with Success, where I have found a Deficiency of Spirits; yet in your Case I am utterly against them. I would not have you forbear them all at once, but eating less and less every Night, leave them off by degrees.

Misom. But if I eat no Suppers I shall be faintish, and more troubled with Wind than I am now.

Phil. I know it, if you should take nothing to prevent it, but those Inconveniences will be obviated by the Cachectick Powders and noble Stomachick I sent you, which are both long-experienced Medicines, whose great Efficacy in this Case I can entirely rely on.

All *Hypochondriaci*, how quick soever the Appetites of some may be, are of a very slow Digestion. Those that are not troubled with spontaneous Vomitings, generally eat their Suppers before their Dinners are half digested.

Misom. How slow my Digestion is I can't determine, but I never sup unless my Stomach stands for it; and, pray when Men are hungry, is not the *indicatum* Eating?

Phil. Not always, when their Appetite is part of their Distemper. The heavy Loads and Distensions in their Stomachs, commence immediately after Eating, tho' the tumultuous Agitations in them, and unsavoury Belchings are commonly not at the worst, 'till three, four, and sometimes five Hours after their Meals. As soon as these Symptoms remit, and a considerable Portion of the crude Chyle is mix'd with the Gall and pancreatick Juice in the *duodenum*; the Miseries of the lower Belly encrease, and impetuous Winds ravage through all the Windings of the Intestines, in which the Tensions and Spasms, Colick—and other Pains are at this time generally the most afflicting, and the (b) *Borborigmi* the loudest. Whilst this tempestuous Scene is acting round the Mesentery, the more stubborn Remainder of the ill-digested Pulp that is left behind continues to oppress the Stomach, and being now,

^aA Play of children among the Ancients so called: it is used Proverbially in the same Sense; that The Devil take the hindmost is in English.

[Horace, *The Art of Poetry*, l. 417].

^bNoises of Wind in the Bowels.

by a vitious Fermentation, become violently sharp, vellicates the Fibres of its inner Tunick, which occasioning a gnawing Uneasiness renders the Patients both hungry, and maukishly Faintish by Turns.

Misom. This indeed is an exact Description of my Œconomy in particular.

Phil. Whilst they are eating, their Intestines are commonly easy, and all the Evils in *Hypogastrio* are the least tormenting, which makes them as soon as the latter Symptoms appear, fly to what they know will cure them for the present. They eat in their own Defence, and are glad of the Opportunity, 'till the Disturbances in their Stomachs returning, they repent of the short-lived Remedy, and thus by heaping Meals upon one another, before the former are concocted, they not only feed their Distemper as constantly as themselves, but likewise hinder the Possibility of being cured; for in those Stomachs the most nutritious Food, as soon as it is swallow'd must degenerate into Crudities, and the best of Medicines be lost in the corrosive *Saburra* they are never without.

Misom. A miserable Condition! when to keep themselves alive, Men are forced to make use of a Remedy that perpetuates their Distemper, and occasions the Return of the very same Afflictions it appeases.

Phil. No Costiveness ever becomes habitual, but a slow Digestion precedes it, the Signs of which can never be latent, for the Victuals remain much longer in those Stomachs than in others, where the Concoction is perform'd in due time, as is manifest from the Savour of the Belches, by which it has been often discover'd that some Aliments, when they have been particularly disagreeable to the Ferment they met with, have been detained without passing the *Pilorus*, for two or three Days, or longer; and if as soon as this Slowness of Concoction was perceivable in your self, you had followed the Rules, which now I endeavour to perswade you to, it is not probable that the Density of the Belly, and many other Symptoms of your Distemper, would ever have afflicted you to that degree they have often done.

Misom. (a) *Venter non habet aures*: It is a hard Prescription, that People should not eat when they are hungry. [Besides, (b) *Viro Seni maxillæ Baculus*.]

Phil. Be assured that the Uneasiness, which fasting at Nights may create to you, cannot be compared to the mighty Service it will be of in the Removal of more troublesome Complaints. Neither is this a Prescription for Life; as soon as the great Disorders of your Digestion shall be redress'd, you will again eat your Suppers with as much Pleasure as ever; but if you cannot leave them off wholly, let them at least be diminish'd; abstain from Flesh, and let them be as slender and as innocent as your Breakfasts. It is not always in the Power of Pharmacy, and Exercise, to cure Distempers that are yet Curable, unless Dietetick Rules are brought into their Assistance. *Diet*, says *Le Clerc*, was the first, the principal, and sometimes the only Remedy that Hippocrates made use of; and shall we lay no more Stress upon it, than if it did not belong to the Art of Physick?¹⁹⁴ It is but of latter Ages, and only since the World has been so much imposed upon by Hermetical Pretenders, that the

^aThe Belly has no Ears. A Proverb, of which the meaning is obvious.

^bThe Jaws are a Stick to an old Man. A Proverb, importing, that Eating is the chief Support of old Age.

golden Rules of Diet have been look'd upon as inconsiderable Trifles; but before we reject a less powerful Aid, let us first see the mighty Performances of the *Herculean* Medicines they boast of, that in small Quantities, and few Doses, are to cure the most inveterate Distempers, without Rule or Observance: but we ought to stay 'till then. (a) *Spem pretio quid eminus?* Why should we neglect the cheapest, the easiest, and most wholesome maxims of the true Art of Physick, for the vain Promises of lying Chymists, and suffer our selves to be robb'd of known Remedies, in expectation of greater, that perhaps are never to come?

Thousands, and ten thousands of Pounds are yearly thrown away upon Apothecary-ware, in this City alone, to remove what might be more effectually cured by Diet. It is incredible what prodigious Benefits may sometimes be received, especially in Disorders of the Stomach, from Abstinence alone; and it is certain, that Millions of People are now in their Graves, who have died of Distempers, as well Chronick as Acute, that at first of all one Night's fasting might have prevented.

Misom. I am perswaded that what you say is true: [Large Suppers are pernicious. *Horace* knew this very well.

(b)——*vides, ut Pallidus omnis*
Cæna desurgat dubia.——

Besides, I don't plead for Excess, and am not to learn at this Age,

(c)——*Victus tenuis quæ quantaque secum*
Adferat.——]

But when Mens reasons are over-ruled by their Appetites, they ought to be more pitied than blamed; and every body must own, that he who kills himself by Eating when he is Hungry, does it *se defendendo*. Yet how troublesome soever I may find your latter Prescription, assure you self that all your Orders shall be strictly obey'd.

Phil. Then I dare promise you that in a little time you shall see your self chang'd into another Man. When the Vomits, by entirely cleansing the first Passages, shall have made way for the Operation of the altering Medicines, and your Abstinence from Suppers give them Leave to exert themselves, they will corroborate your Stomach and Bowels, and give new Life to the Peristaltick Motion. The bathing will remove the Tensions, and relax the rigid Fibres of your Intestines. The noble Exercise of Riding will not only promote Digestion, and strengthen your Body, but likewise compose and exhilarate your Mind, and all of them together invigorate both. And by these Means, and by a nutritious Diet, and perhaps the Addition of some Chalybeats, if there should be Occasion, you will in a few Weeks find your Costiveness worn off, your Constitution visibly mended, and your Blood replenished with spirituous as well as balsamick Parts.

^aWhy should we pay a real Value for Hopes? *It is used proverbially to shew that we ought not to neglect Certainties for Hopes of what is uncertain.*

^bObserve how sickly and pale every body rises from a sumptuous Supper.

^cWhat and how great the Benefits are, that accrue from a spare Diet. *Horace.*

[Both quotations are from *Horace, Satires, Book II, 2, lines 70–75*].

Misom. But I forgot to tell you, that after being in Bed, even when I'm at the best, I often lie tossing two or three Hours before I can close my Eyes, and that my first Sleeps seldom last longer than an Hour, or an Hour and an half: My getting up so soon as you talk of, will rob me of the most comfortable part of my Rest. [Consider that I am growing in Years:

(a)——*ubique*

Accedent anni, tractari mollius ætas

Imbecilla volet.]

Phil. What I advise is not to hinder, but protract your Sleeps. Your early rising will wipe from your Spirits a certain Drowsiness, which is commonly the heavy Companion of all those that mistaking Sloth to be the Equivalent of Sleep, lie soaking in their Beds uneasie and awake; and being assisted with the constant Variety of your Employments all Day long, will make you wish with Pleasure for the Approach of Night, which now you often dread; for as no Hunger is more commendable than what is procured by Emptiness and fasting, so Exercise and Watching are the most natural Preservatives to Sleep. The first or second Day perhaps you will not feel the Effects of this wholesome Prescription; but after that, assure your self that you will, more and more, begin to long for Bed-time, the Thoughts of which are so tiresome to many, who never are fatigued but with Excess of Ease. The Means I order [(allow me to speak in the Style of *Willis*)] will draw upon you, toward Evening, an agreeable Weariness, the moving Orator for sweet Repose, that breathing Health and Peace to every Part, perswades the Soul to Rest, and having brib'd the watchful Spirits from their Posts, locks up the unguarded Senses in charming Bonds of Slumber.

Misom. I want no Rhetorick to encourage me; the great Desire I have of being cured is more eloquent than your Perswasion: I would bear any thing to be bless'd again with those sound spontaneous Sleeps I formerly enjoy'd. Oh Slumber! Thou perverse and foolish Mistress to Mankind, that none can live without, why should you be so forward to the Poor and Thoughtless, on whom you steal unsought for, whilst you are tyrannically coy to more deserving Lovers that anxiously court you?

[(b)——*Somnus agrestium*

Lenis virorum non humiles domos

Fastidit.——]

I cheerfully confide in your Knowledge, *Philopirio*, wishing for no better Success than my Observance shall deserve; and depend upon it, if the Event proves as happy as the Expectation you give of it seems reasonable, you shall never find me ungrateful: What I do now is only to pay you for the Trouble I have given you, and the Time

^a *Besides, old Age will come; and that must crave*

A softer Treatment far than Youth should have.

Creech's *Translat.*

[Horace, *Satires*, Book II, 2, 85].

^b *Kind Sleep scorns not to enter the low Cottages of the Poor country People.* [Horace, *Odes*, Book III, 1, 20].

you have spent with me.—But is this, pray, the general Method you take with all Hypochondriacks, (a) *Mutatis mutandis*, which now you have prescrib'd to me?

Phil. *Mutatis mutandis* it is; but that is all in all, for as the Symptoms differ, so I alter my Method; and I never saw yet two hypochondriacal Cases exactly alike.

Misom. Then what is your Secret in the Cure of this difficult Distemper?

Phil. I have several: [I allow my self time to hear and weigh the complaints of my Patients.

Misom. The first I have experienced to be true, and I have no reason to doubt of the latter.]

Phil. I take pains to be well acquainted with the manner of living of my Patients, and am more curious in examining them than there is occasion for a Man to be in any other Distemper; not only to penetrate into the Procatartick Causes, but likewise the better to consult the Circumstances as well as (b) *Idiosyncrasy* of every particular Person: Some have strange Aversions as to Diet; others peculiar Antipathies against some excellent Remedies; and every wholesome Exercise suits not with all People. A third Secret is, that I am very careful in endeavouring to distinguish between the Efforts of Nature, whom I would assist, and those of the Distemper, which I am to destroy.

Misom. But I mean Medicines, when I spoke of Secrets.

Phil. Then I must answer you, that I have not one but what I am willing to impart to any Patient, as generous as your self, that for his private Use, after having receiv'd some extraordinary Benefit from it, asks me for the Prescription. For tho' I make use of Chymical as well as Galenical Preparations, yet I have no *Nostrums* that I intend either to magnify or conceal,¹⁹⁵ under the specious Pretence of any mighty Labour, Cost, or extraordinary (c) ἐνχειρεσις they require ; no *Liquor Alkahist*, *Arcanum Corallinum*, nor other *Panacea*'s, that can work Miracles to boast of.

[*Misom.* What, no *Catholicon*, no grand *Elixir*, no universal *Menstruum*?¹⁹⁶ There certainly is no where such impudent Lying to be met with among any other Sort of People, as there is among the Chymists. They have infinitely out-done the Astrologers. What Prodigious Cures have that *Van Helmont* and *Parcelsus* boasted of, those (d) *Halopantæ*?¹⁹⁷ What Mountains have they promised! I have read all their Processes, and it has often raised my Indignation to think, what miserable long Dances they have led some poor credulous People, that labour'd to decypher their Jargon, and try'd Experiments upon their Words.]

Phil. The Medicines I make use of are such as others have likewise recommended in the same Cases; and all the Mystery I know in Physick, as to Remedies, consists in the Choice and Application of them. [I never scruple to have my Bills sent to the Apothecary's, if the Patient chuses it: Nay, I verily believe, that we have as good Apothecaries at least, as any Nation in *Europe*.

^aAltering the things that are to be alter'd.

^bThe peculiar Constitution.

^cManual Skill.

^dGreat Lyars that hardly ever speak Truth.[Plautus, *Curculio*, act IV, sc. 1]

Misom. There are too many of them, which makes their Calling, the Business it self, mischievous; for all of them must endeavour to get a Livelyhood. In *Hamborough* now the Number of them is limited, and those few that are allowed of have prodigious great Shops; but then they are Druggist withal.

Phil. How large some Shops may be in *Germany* I don't know, but that the Generality of ours afford a greater Store, as well as Variety of good Medicines, than are to be met with in the Generality of them abroad, I averr to be true: And as to Drugs, that the very worst of those that are imported here, are re-shipp'd and constantly sent to foreign Markets, is a Fact which the Merchants that deal in them can witness.

Misom. You are a profess'd Panegyrist for the Apothecaries, I see.

Phil. Not at all; but I endeavour to be impartial, and would do Justice to all Mankind.]¹⁹⁸ That there are good Apothecaries I know, and I really believe that many of them are very honest Men: But I know likewise that there are others, who in dispensing and preparing their Medicines are less curious and more saving, than they should be; and a Physician must be highly valued indeed, that can perswade every body to leave his own Apothecary, and go where he directs them.

Misom. The Consequence of which, must, at least in some cases, be the same as if they had all bad Medicines. But the chief Mischief is, that there is no Trade in which Men have less Encouragement to be honest: For, in the first place, if a Physician, for his own Reputation's sake, refuses to have Bills carried to every Shop, and is of that Eminence, that he can prescribe the Apothecary as well as the Medicines, he shall be ridicul'd, call'd an Humorist, the honest Man he trusts to, be slander'd, and both of them have a hundred Stories father'd upon them, as false as they are malicious, by the rest of the Apothecaries that are not of his chosen number. A pretty Reward for a Man's being honest at his own Expençe!

In the second; a Man that picks his Drugs, buys the best of every thing the Shops afford, and wholly employs himself in carefully dispensing his Medicines, if his Custom lies among mean People, shall often be oblig'd to reckon Forty *per Cent* less for things of the same Name, than his Neighbour, who he knows buys nothing but Rubbish, which he leaves a Boy to jumble together. At this rate who would be honest that could help it?

If the Butcher sends us home stinking Meat, or the Shoe-maker sells us bad Leather, they lose our Custom, because every body can judge of the Imposition, which makes them honest in their own Defence; but what Obligation lie they under to be so, (a) *quorum scelera terra tegit*? If a Patient be lost for want of good Drugs, Pray whose Fault is it? Either his Time was come or the Physician mistook the Distemper, (the wisest Man you know may err;) but as for the Medicines, without doubt they were made up according to order; if the Man be dead he must be buried, the Apothecary knows nothing of the matter, and writes out his Bills as merrily as the Undertaker.

Phil. Honest or not honest, the Apothecaries can never be my Friends, and I don't know how to blame them: My manner of prescribing is so little adapted to their

^a *Whose Villanies the Earth covers.*

Profit, that if they were civil enough not to ridicule, they could at least never like my Practice.

I religiously believe it to be true what *Arnoldus Villanovanus* said; that it is a Cheat to use Compound Medicines, where Simples are sufficient; and of the few Compounds I make use of, there are several that are not in the Dispensatory. These you'll say the Apothecaries would prepare for you, if you gave them your Prescriptions: So they might and would, for a Man in great Vogue and Business that wrote handsomely; but very few of them would think it worth their while to do this for a Physician that is not likely to bring much Grist to their Mills, tho' he had never so many Patients. Who would be troubled with a Man that talks of Exercise and Diet, and is a mortal Enemy to Physick, where it is possible to do without?

I have no Opinion of Syrups or Simple Waters; the Medicines I give are either taken in Coffee, Tea, Wine, fair Water, or other Liquors that are familiar to the Patients, and generally to be had at their Houses, or near hand; or if any particular Vehicle be requir'd, I prescribe a Decoction, or Infusion of a few Simples, in plain English, which every body may make at home, or get made where he pleases.

Misom. This indeed is prophaning of Physick, and it must sound abominably in an Apothecary's Ear, to hear a Man tell People that there is no more Skill requir'd to boil two or three Roots of the Field, and as many handfuls of Physical Herbs, when they are told where to have them; than there is to boil Carrots or Turneps, with Coleworts, or Sprouts; and that a little Boy may do it as well in fair Water, as his (a) *Servulus* in *Hydropege*: Especially if he should be so wicked as to add, what your Reprobates in Physick affirm to be true, that by doing this the Patient may often save as much in one Morning as will buy the rest of the Family their Dinners. I hate Cheats of all Sorts; and in things of publick Concern, I think, a man ought to be hang'd who for Lucre endeavours to render that mysterious, which in it self is plain, or may easily be made so. Besides, the more operose and expensive Physick is made, the more you will always be pester'd with Quacks. I have been highly delighted with reading a learned *German*, one *Daniel Ludovicus*, who seems to have been a Physician of great Experience and no less Humanity. He talks like you; he is for reducing the vast Heaps of Compounds contain'd in the Dispensatories, to a moderate number, and keeping only a few choice Remedies of known Efficacy: For the rest, he recommends Simples and Medicines (b) *parvo parables*; and exhorts all Physicians to take the preparing and dispensing of Physick under their own Care and Inspection. I have seen another Book on the same Subject in *English*, that was printed here in *London* above forty Years ago: It is call'd *A Discourse concerning Physick, and the many abuses of it by Apothecaries*: It is wrote by an *Anonymous* Author, who entreats all Physicians in a pressing manner to administer their own Physick, and is very diffusive in shewing the many benefits that would accrue from it to the Publick.¹⁹⁹ Since that, many things have been published to the same purpose; but from the growing Luxury of the Times I never expected to see this a general Practice, tho' nothing is more reasonable on many Accounts.—I cannot express

^aA Boy-Servant.

^bTo be had at small Expence.

it to you, *Philopirio*, how much I am pleas'd with your Sentiments as well as Method: But if ever you get into a great Business, I am much mistaken.

Phil. I could never go through a Multiplicity of Business. Every body ought to consult his own Temper and Abilities in all Undertakings. I hate a Crowd, and I hate to be in a Hurry. Besides, I am naturally slow, and could no more attend a dozen Patients in a Day, and think of them as I should do, than I could fly. I must own to you likewise, that I am a little selfish, and can't help minding my own Enjoyments, and my own Diversion, and in short, my own Good, as well as the Good of others. I can, and do heartily admire at those publick-spirited People that can slave at an Employment from early in the Morning, 'till late at Night, and sacrifice every Inch of themselves to their Callings; but I could never have had the Power to imitate them: Not that I love to be idle; but I want to be employed to my own liking; and if a Man gives away to others two thirds of the Time he is awake, I think he deserves to have the rest for himself.

Misom. Pray, did you ever wish for a great Estate?

Phil. Often, and I should certainly have had one before now, if wishing could have procur'd it.

Misom. But I am sure, you never sought heartily after Riches.

Phil. I have always been frugal enough to have no Occasion for them.

Misom. I don't believe you love Money.

Phil. Indeed I do.

Misom. I mean you have no Notion of the Worth of it, no real Esteem for it.

Phil. Yes I have; but I value it in the same manner as most People do their Health, which you know is seldom thought of but when it is wanted.

Misom. I love you.] I wish with all my heart my Wife had staid to hear us. Who knows but our Discourse would have converted her. I love the Woman very well, [and should be loth to lose her.

(a) *Non enim posthac alia calebo*
Fæmina.—]

What do you think of her? I know that sometimes she is very bad, but she is seldom constipated, and the least Laxative in the world moves her. I can't think but the greatest Part of her Distemper is Fancy. [Sometimes, when I have thought that she made more of it, than she really felt, I have consulted *John Baptista Sylvaticus*, an Italian Physician, who wrote a Treatise to discover those who feign'd Distempers.²⁰⁰ But I could never make any thing of it.]

Phil. I generally observe, that People troubled with either *Hypo*, or *Vapours*, to a considerable degree, never think others so bad as themselves; and yet are always wonderfully offended, if their own Distemper be any ways slighted.

Misom. There is a great deal of Difference between my Wife and my self; when Afflictions are so excessive as mine often are, they are past jesting; tho', as if it was an additional Misery entail'd upon them, I have several times met with things that

^a *For I shall never hereafter love any other Woman.* Hor.

[Horace, *Odes*, Book IV, II, 30].

way so insolent and inhuman (a) *quod vix a minibus me temperaverim*. When I have had a thousand Pains about me, and been devoured with Grief even to Death, I have had a healthy Rascal full of Ease and Wantonness come up to me in the Street, with a Smile in his Countenance, and cry, *Well, Misomedon, how goes the Hypo?* I have said nothing and gone my ways, but I could have kock'd him down with all my Heart.

Phil. These things are provoking: [But what makes them worse is a spice of Envy, that often secretly disturbs Valetudinarians, when they are in company of careless People that are in strong athletick Health.

Misom. You think (b) *Edentulus vescentium dentibus invidet*.

Phil. There certainly is a great deal of Truth in that Proverb. We are naturally inclin'd to grudge others those Pleasures and Enjoyments which we seem to have an equal Right to, when we can have no Share in them our selves. This is no where more conspicuous than in People of crazy Constitutions, especially in the hypochondriack and hysterick Diseases. Imagining themselves to be very miserable, and that they are visibly so, they think that not to pity is to insult them; and they can't help looking upon the Compassion of others as their Due, a just Tribute, that ought to be paid them by every body, who to their thinking are more happy, and seem not to labour under the same Afflictions.] Therefore I would have you believe that your Lady's Distemper ought to be as seriously treated, at least before her, as your own, without meddling with the Degrees of Misery in either. The Costiveness indeed is one of your greatest Grievances; but there are many hypochondriack as well as hysterick Patients, that are very rarely or never troubled with it, and yet very miserable otherwise.

Misom. [You are in the right: I verily believe my Distemper has strangely perverted my Humour; otherwise there is not a more tender Husband than my self, in the main: And as to Compassion in my Nature, I am (c) *infima Auricula mollior*.] But if I could bring my Wife over to us, could you do her any good?

Phil. If she would use cold-bathing, and stir pretty much, I don't question, but the drinking of Spa-water, and a few Medicines besides, would cure her; but not, unless she could be perswaded by slow degrees to leave off the pernicious, as well as only palliative Remedies, that under the specious Titles of *Cordial*, *Restorative* and *Anti-hysterick*, have spoil'd the Tone of her Stomach and Intestines, and almost utterly ruin'd her Constitution; I mean the hot Vinous Liquors, by the constant sipping of which it is incredible how many have been destroy'd.

Misom. Yet, tho' she has try'd I believe almost every thing that is to be taken in Physick, she finds Benefit by nothing else: Nay I can see, that she is worse, when she strives to forbear them: but since she must take them, I am sure, that no sophis-

^aThat I could scarce keep my Hands to my self. *It is proverbially used, when we can hardly forbear striking People.*

^bHe that has lost his own Teeth, envies the Teeth of others, when they make use of them. *A Proverb; of which the Meaning is obvious.*

^cSofter than the Tip of the Ear. *It is proverbially used for very soft, but most commonly apply'd in a figurative Sense to those, that are very meek and tender-hearted.*

ticated Wine, nor any Malt, Sugar, or Cyder-Spirit, can be compared to true *French* Wine, and the best *Coniac* Brandy; either of which I am never without; what I complain of is, that she will think nothing reviving, but what comes in Mixtures from the Apothecary, who, I'd pawn my Life, does not afford such Prices for Wine or Brandy, to make his Slops with, as I am now forced to give to have them good.

Phil. That Wine as it comes from the Grape, and right *French* Brandy, as they are more grateful to the Palate, are likewise less offensive to the Stomach, than what you named after them, is beyond dispute; but whether they come from the Apothecary, the Vintner, or the Merchant, all things that are spirituous and volatile, the Salts of Harts-horn, Amber, Urine, &c. not excepted, are destructive in the Case we speak of, when they are constantly taken: In the *Sublimation* of *Sal Armoniack*, or any other volatile Salt with Steel, *Lapis Hæmatites*, or other Minerals that are not so, well pulverized and blended together, it is observable that a great many Particles of the latter are carried to the very top of the Alembick, that never would have got thither without the Help of the first. What we see in that Sublimation happens in our Bodies, and I believe that all *Volatilia* and *Spirituosa*, that are naturally soon dissipated, and which we mix with our Juices, when they go off, generally fly away with more than their own. Whether this Analogy will please you I don't know, neither would I conclude any thing from Speculation, but that there is some such thing is notorious from Experience; which shews us, that all *Volatilia* and *Spirituosa*, (given where the Spirits are deficient, and of a weak Contexture) when their Strength is spent, leave the People worse than they found them; and how refreshing and restorative soever they may seem the moment they are taken, the Patients are always more dispirited after them; which could not be, if by them they were not robb'd of something.

The Reason, why in hysteric Cases, and other Chronick Deficiencies of the Spirits, many, otherwise sober and moderate Persons, have such an entire Dependance upon them, is, because they always give them a manifest and present Relief; for tho' the height of the Comfort, they give, last but for a few Moments; yet, as the Ease they procure does not leave them again all at once, but goes off gradually as the Strength of those Liquors is dissipated, 'till in a little time both are vanished; the Certainty of the Benefit they constantly receive from them, continually tempts them to repeat what has often reviv'd them; which if they forbear longer than ordinary, must without doubt make them very uneasie, and consequently worse; and this latter is likewise the Reason, why it is so difficult to wean them from those Draughts of Oblivion, when once they have got the Habit of relieving, or rather dozing and stupifying themselves that way; for meeting with nothing, that gives them such an immediate Ease, they never have the Patience to be so long without them, as might enable them to judge of less presentaneous Remedies that would be more effectual.

Misom. It is very probable that those spirituous and volatile Remedies being blended with our Mass of Spirits, may, as they are dissipated, destroy some fine balsamick Particles that were entangled with them, in like manner as in the chymical Experiment, you alledge the volatile Salts in flying up, carry along with them the most subtile Particles of Steel, &c. they are mix'd with: But I cannot see why they

should not have always the same Effect, as well upon those that are unacquainted with them, as others that use them constantly.

Phil. It is manifest that the Good we receive from them is whilst they remain mix'd with our Mass of Spirits, and it is as evident from Experience, that they are more easily dissipated, and go off sooner in the latter than they do in the first.

Misom. It is indeed not likely that there should be so many beaten Roads, and such ready Passages to fly away thro' in People that are Strangers to them, as there must be in those that continually make use of them.

Phil. The Reason you give may be good for ought I know: Being made *a posteriori*, if it cannot mislead us, yet it is far from being satisfactory to me. If we look into the several Effects of Wine and Brandy, and the Variety of Symptoms that attend the Drinking of all intoxicating Liquors, we shall find an unwearied Diligence in observing the different *Phænomena* of much greater use than the curious Endeavours of explaining them; because we are altogether unacquainted with those hardly conceivable *Minutiæ* of the Spirits, that are the constitutive Parts of all our Humours and Inclinations, and consequently utterly incapable of reasoning upon them. The several sorts of Drunkenness, which *Horace* attributes to the same Cask,

(a) *Seu tu querelas, sive geris jocos,*
Seu rixam, & insanos amores,
Seu facilem pia testa somnum.

according as the Tempers differ'd of those that drank of it, we may often meet with (tho' at several times) in the same Persons, from the Difference of the inebriating Liquors themselves. He that is only dull and sleepy after strong Ale, and other Malt-Liquors, may be quarrelsome after Brandy, with as little Provocation; and the same Man that fill'd with noxious adulterated Wine abounds in Complaints, and weeps without Cause, shall often sparkle with Mirth and be fired with Love, after drinking of fragrant *Pontac*, or sprightly *Champaign*.²⁰¹

Misom. I do not wonder that the Reasons of those nicer Distinctions should be beyond the Reach of our Understandings, when even the ordinary Operations of Wine, if we were not convinced of them by fact, would exceed all human Belief. What Philosopher, if he had not seen it, would imagine, that a Man in wretched Circumstances, who neither pleas'd with himself nor his Company, sits surly and demure, making heavy Reflections on the dark Results of Futurity, should by a few Draughts, to which he submits with Silence and Regret, in less than two Hours time become merry and facetious, courteous and obliging?

How vast is the Alteration! all his Fears and Diffidence are vanished, his most slender Hopes receive an Air of Certainty, and he wonders, that he could ever have so much apprehended the first, or laid so little Stress upon the latter. The Stranger

^a *You my good Cask —*

Produce your Charge whate'er it be,
Or Love, or Strife, or loud Debate.
Or gentle Sleep, or Wit serenely fine.
 Creech transl.

[*Horace, Odes, Book III, 21 "In Praise of Wine."*]

he makes his Friend, and entrusts him with Secrets, which three Hours ago he would have kept from his Brother. With unaffected Freedom he speaks to those he stood in awe of before; others whom he thought below his Conversation, he esteems as valuable Companions; and among all that are with him, he finds a Heaven of Equality as well as Delight. He feels every Glass add Vigour to his Body and Content to his Mind, and the more he reflects, the more he reckons his Condition to be envied, whilst all he can see or think on is meliorating, and the whole Creation mends upon his Hands.

Phil. I did not expect to hear a Man of your Temperance and Sobriety out-do even *Horace* himself, in the Praise of Drunkenness, who thought it sufficient to say of it; *quod*

(a)——*operta recludit,*
Spes jubet esse ratas, in praelia trudit inermem.
Sollicitis animis onus eximit; addocet artes:
Faecundi calices quem non fecere disertum?
Contracta quem non in paupertate solutum?

Misom. I did not design an *Encomium* upon Drunkenness, but only to relate the Effects, which good Wine generally has upon all People in Health; if their Tempers are naturally easie, and not over-rul'd by any predominant Vice.

Phil. But I think the Strangeness of its Operation more conspicuous in those, that are not so well qualify'd; for it is not only in the power of this Vegetable to make the Slave fancy himself to be Free, the Poor to be Rich; the Old, Young; and the Miserable, Happy; but it likewise actually mends visible Imperfections; renders the Infirm, Strong; the Decrepit, Nimble; and the Stammerer, Eloquent; and what neither *Circe's* nor *Medea's* Art could ever perform, turns Vices into Virtues, and by the Charm of it, the Coward, the Covetous, the Proud, and the Morose become Valiant, Generous, Affable, and Good-humour'd.

Misom. I see you won't be behind hand with me: Yet am of Opinion, that what either of us can say of it must always fall short of what *Horace* has left us upon the same Subject. I don't mean what you repeated from his Epistle to *Torquatus*; tho' that is generally cited upon the Occasion. *Horace* was a general Poet, but his greatest Talent did not lie in Heroicks; (b) *Il faut considerer chacun dans son fort*: It was Lyrick Verse in which he excell'd. Read his whole Ode to *Bacchus*, and several others, where he speaks of Wine, that now I don't call to mind:

^a——'tis free
 of Secrets, and turns Hopes to certainty.
 It teaches Arts, and teaches how to think.
 And what Man is not eloquent in's Drink,
 And who, tho' cramp'd in narrow Want's not free?
 Creech.
 [Horace, *Epistles*, I, 5].

^b We ought to consider every body in that, in which he is strong, or excels.

(a) *Tu lene tormentum ingenio admoves*
Plerumque duro: Tu sapientium
Curas & arcanum jocosum
Consilium retegis Lyæo:
Tu spem reducis mentibus anxiis
Viresque: & addis cornua Pauperi,
Post te neque iratos trementi
Regum apices, neq. militum arma, &c.

This is almost the same with what you quoted, but more Poetical and more elegant.

[*Phil.* I always thought that there was as much good Sense, polite Knowledge, and fine Raillery to be met with in his Epistles, his Satyrs and his Art of Poetry, as in any other Part of his Works.

Misom. But the Versification is slovenly, and often harsh: Half the Language is Prose, and the Numbers are altogether neglected; whereas in his Odes, the Expressions are every where turgid with a rich Vein; the Verses are harmonious, and there is Musick in every Line.]

Phil. I am no Critick; but well assured that Poetical Flights a-part, the innumerable Mischiefs, which Wine, as it is managed, creates to Mankind, far exceed whatever *Horace*, or any body else can say in Commendation of it.

Misom. I stand in no need of any Warning against it. Before I thought of studying Physick, I had seen *Turnebus de Vino*, who is very eloquent on the ill Effects of it.²⁰² There are few things that have been said on this Head which I don't know. When the Disorders of my Stomach came to be very troublesome, I have at different Times try'd all manner of Liquors, and consulted all Authors I could hear of that had treated about them. One *David Portzius* an *Heidelberg* Physician has wrote an (b) *Anatomica Chymica of Bacherac*: Him I have read, and *Meibomius* (c) *de Cerveis & aliis Ebriaminibus*, with *Gazius*, *Gratarolus*, *Haggecius*, *Schookius*, and some others which I cannot think on now, that have all wrote on this Subject.²⁰³ But what I have chiefly learn'd from them is, that the more a Man reads of these things, the more he is puzzl'd in his Choice. The Idols of Physicians are as much conspicuous in Drinkables as they are in Eatables. There is hardly a Liquor to be named which some have not extoll'd to the Skies, and others have not condemn'd as low, without consulting the Palates or Constitutions of the Persons they spoke to. Punch is pecu-

^a *This whets the Dull, and Wit inspires,*
The Grave with sprightly Vigour fires,
And by a never-failing Charm
Unlocks the Mind and all its gay Desires.
Wine with fresh Hopes the Coward cheers,
Revives the Wretched and Undone,
And makes the Slave his Lord disown.
What Wretch, when arm'd by Bacchus, fears
To meet a Warriour's Arm, or stand a Tyrant's Frown?
Creech.
 [Horace, *Odes*, Book III, 21, "In Praise of Wine"]

^b A *Chymical Anatomy of Bacherach*. A German Wine so called.

^c *Of Beers, and other intoxicating Liquors.*

liar to our Nation. I know a Physician whose favourite Liquor it is, and who prescribes it in the Stone and Gravel. Others again I have heard speak of it, as of just so much Poyson. As to my self, I could never endure any Sort of it: All Acids were ever offensive to my Stomach. But I know People with whom Punch, whether made with Arack, Brandy, or Rum, agrees very well, and better than any other strong Liquor, tho' otherwise their Digestion is but indifferent. Nothing agrees with me. I have try'd all sorts of Beer and Ale; but Small or Strong, they presently turn sour upon my Stomach.

Phil. Where the preternatural Fermentations are so constantly made, as it is evident they are in your Stomach and Bowels, I have generally observed that Malt Liquors are hurtful: Otherwise good Small-beer, as soon as it is fine, and before it has any Tendency to Staleness, is very grateful to most Stomachs, and, next to Water, the best Diluter in the World.

Misom. I have had enough of Water, you know.

Phil. That it does not agree with every body, tho' taken in small Quantities, I own: But there is a great Difference between taking three Pints or two Quarts of it upon an empty Stomach, as you did at *Epsom*, and drinking a Pint of it at three or four Draughts whilst a Man is at Dinner. I have known several whose Palates dislik'd, and whose Stomach could not bear cold Water, that when it was made hot and pour'd into their Wine, were highly delighted with the Mixture, and found it more comfortable by far, than cold Wine by it self. There are others again, with whom cold Water, even in the midst of Winter, agrees so perfectly well, that it seems to be a Specifick for Concoction; and I know Persons, to whose Stomachs several things prove offensive, when they have drank Wine at their Meals in any quantity, that can eat what they please, and digest every thing very well, whilst they confine themselves to drink nothing but Water.

Misom. So much for the Quality of Liquids; can any thing be said with greater Certainty about the Quantity that is to be taken of them, for the generality?

Phil. I sincerely believe not. But I have observed, that among temperate Men this is more often under-done than over-done; and I have known several, who for Years together were troubled with an ill Digestion from no other Cause, than their being too abstemious, and not taking Liquids enough to dilute the solid Meat they ate.

Misom. I have read in several practical Authors, that hypochondriacal People, and such as are said to be troubled with the Spleen, are seldom thirsty.

Phil. But it is wrong to imagine, that Men are never to drink unless they are a-dry; and from part of what I have prescrib'd to you this Afternoon, you might easily have gather'd, that I suspected you to be guilty of this Error.

Misom. Error, do you say? Pray is not the most natural Indication for Drinking, Thirst?

Phil. Yes; and so is Hunger for Eating, when People are in perfect Health; but when we are sensible that we are out of order, we ought not to trust to the Call of Nature labouring under Diseases, but rather to suspect the Directions we receive from within. A Dropsy and Diabetes are two different Distempers, that in many respects seem to be quite opposite to one another; yet Thirst is a common Symptom in both, that is never absent, when either of them is afflicting to any considerable

degree; and Experience teaches us, that the more People indulge the Inclination they have to drink, the more they encrease their Thirst as well as their Distemper.

Misom. In violent Fevers the Patients are likewise thirsty, yet there you prescribe diluting, and let them drink as much as they please.

Phil. Thirst, when it is permanent and the Symptoms of a Disease, seems to me to be a sign, that the globular, the oily Part of the Blood, in which the Principle of our natural Heat is contain'd, is predominant; and that there is not a sufficient Quantity of watry serous Particles in its Mass. Now whether the *Serum* is too precipitately cast upon the Kidnies, and voided by Urine, as in a Diabetes; or that it is every where drain'd from the Mass of Blood and thrown upon the Muscles, or in the Cavities of the Body, as it is in Dropsies; it is certain, that in both these Distempers the serous part of the Blood is separated from the globular to Excess, which is the Cause of Thirst.

Misom. But I thought, that what disposed People to be dropsical, generally speaking, was the Blood's being poor; that is, when the Quantity of *Serum* exceeds in proportion the globular Balsamick Parts.

Phil. That's true; but dropsical People never come to be thirsty before it is visible, that that copious and abounding *Serum* is separated from the Blood, and got out of its Vessels in great Quantity.

Misom. I can't dispute that with you: But since permanent, symptomatick Thirst always proceeds from the same Cause, Why is drinking indulg'd in a Fever, and not in a Dropsy or a Diabetes?

Phil. In most Fevers that are violent, the globular Part of the Blood is superior in Quantity to the serous: this occasions the great Heat of the Body; and as Heat consumes Moisture, so drinking of innocent Liquors supplies the Loss of the watry serous Particles that continually exhale and evaporate; and the Substance of the Blood-Vessels being tight and firm, the Mass of Blood is actually diluted and cooled by drinking: And this is the reason that so many Fevers are cured by nothing else but reasonable Bleeding, and the copious drinking of innocent Liquors. But in a Dropsy or Diabetes, whatever Liquors are pour'd down, they make no Stay in the Vessels; and whether the Fault lies in the Tone and want of Springiness of the Fibres of them, or in the Quality of the *Serum* it self, whatever is carried to the Blood parts from it again immediately. It is like throwing Water into a Sieve: therefore drinking can do no good; and as most small Liquors are apt to encrease the Flabbiness and Laxity of the Parts, it can only serve to feed the Distemper.

Misom. I am answer'd, and beg Pardon for having interrupted you. Pray what was it you would have inferr'd from the Thirst which is observable in the Dropsy and Diabetes?

Phil. You ask'd me, you know, Whether Thirst was not the most natural Indication for drinking? In answering which I thought it necessary to distinguish between the Call of Nature, and the Call of a Distemper: For that Reason I mentioned the Thirst, which is a common Symptom in both those Distempers; to demonstrate that in some Cases Drinking is hurtful, and unadviseable, tho' Men are thirsty. And now I leave it to your Consideration, Whether it is not probable that, in order Cases, the Stomach may want Liquids, tho' Men feel no Directions from within to crave them. A Person

who eats Meat, and (including his Bread) takes eight or nine Ounces of solid Food, ought to drink at least a Pint of Liquor to dilute it; and if he eats more, he ought to drink more in proportion; unless he plainly feels that it is offensive to him: For it is impossible to lay down a Rule that shall suit all Constitutions. That every body ought to consult his Stomach, is to be understood of People in tolerable Health, and such will crave Liquids as naturally, as they will more solid Food: Therefore the Loss of Appetite, either in Drinkables or Eatables, is as much a Sign of Disorder in the animal Economy, as excessive Thirst or a (a) *Fames canina*. The bodily Conscience is as liable to be mis-guided as the spiritual. In Cases to all appearance desperate, where the Patients loathing all manner of Sustenance, for Weeks together, had all along been fed against their inclination, and often by Force, I have known them recover contrary to the expectation of experience'd Physicians; when at the same time it was evident, that without some Food or other, Nature could never have been supported for such a length of Time, as their Inappetency had lasted.

Misom. Let us return to our Subject. You was speaking of Wine, and the innumerable Mischiefs which it creates to Mankind. Among the Irregularities of my Youth which I hinted to you, Drinking was none of the least: The Pleasure I took in it was kept up and heighten'd by two things; the first was, that no Liquor nor any Quantity of it ever injur'd my Health, as I thought; and whatever I drank I was always well again, as soon as I had slept and was sober: The other was, that among the (b) *Calicum Remiges* I met with Men of Taste and polite Learning. Nothing was more common among us in our Cups, as we sate (c) *Cothonisantes*, than to hear the Words (d) *Epischytizare*, and (e) *Maschalam tollere*, and we had Greek and Latin Phrases for every thing that related to Drinking. This I was highly delighted with. But as soon as I had left my loose Company I lost the Inclination I had for the Bottle; and I have no reason now to fear the Return of it. What, I believe, I told you, that I had seldom drank to Excess since I have been married, is very true. In the Beginning indeed of my Distemper, when I was first seized with Melancholy Thoughts, I have sometimes taken Sanctuary in a large Dose of Claret to ease me; but there is no Pleasure, (f) *ubi culpam pœna premit comes*: I never had any Relief from it: without a greater Punishment upon the Heels of it: It has laid my Pains, appeas'd my Soul, made me forget my Sorrows, and fancy over-night, that all my Afflictions had left me; but the next Morning, before the Strength of the Charm has been quite worn off, they have in Crowds return'd upon me with a Vengeance, and my self paid dearly for the deceitful Cure. 'Tis unspeakable in what Confusion of Horror, Guilt, Fear, and Repentance I have wak'd, in what depth of Grief, Anguish, and Misery my Spirits

^a *Voraciousness.* A Distemper.

^b *A Phrase used proverbially for Topers, Great Drinkers.*

^c *Tossing the Bottle about.*

^d *A Verb proverbially used for hard Drinking.*

^e *A Phrase of the same Signification.*

[Mandeville borrowed these Latin neologisms from Erasmus (*Adagia*)].

^f *Where the Punishment accompanies the Crime.*

[Horace, *Odes*, Book IV, 5 "To Augustus", 20].

have been sunk, or how forlorn and destitute of all Hopes and Comforts I have sometimes thought my self after the Use of this fallacious Remedy.

If hard Drinking has the same Effect upon all *Hypochondriaci*, as it had upon me, it will soon either destroy them, or cure them of Intemperance; the Consequences of which are the same to me as the worst Symptoms of the Distemper, and consequently equally dreadful; tho' I confess, that if the Benefit, which it is in my Power to receive from Wine, could be made as durable and lasting, as I might be sure of enjoying it for a short Time, and the Spirits of it as fix'd and permanent, as I know that they would certainly supply the Deficiency of my own, whilst they should be mix'd with them; I would desire no better Cure, than what my Cellar could help me to.

Phil. Wine has wrought miraculous Cures in abundance of desperate Cases, (of which many were Hysterick) and is without doubt, when in Perfection, the highest Cordial, and greatest Restorative to the Spirits, that God hitherto has communicated to Mankind; but it is only so to those, that are unacquainted with, or at least make no constant Practice of using it: Upon us that either out of Luxury, Pride, or a foolish Custom have brought our selves to drink it daily, and made it Part of our Diet, its Medicinal Virtue, at least greatest Efficacy of it, is lost.

Misom. Can there be any hurt in using it so moderately as I do?

Phil. No other; than that by making it familiar to your Body, you deprive your self of the greatest Remedy in the World, whenever you stand in need of it. I know that most People in plentiful Circumstances would laugh at a Man, that should advise them now and then to forbear Wine for a Fortnight or longer, when they are in perfect Health; but if they understood the real Advantages accruing from so easy a Practice, the greatest Part of the Nation would take it into Consideration. For, besides that those, who have used their Bodies to this Change, may often drink a large Bottle without the least Hurt to their Constitution, and soon redress the Injuries of a Debauch; they are never debarr'd from the Benefit, which in many Cases Wine can give; nor liable to the ill Consequences of any occasional Abstinence from it: Whereas they that have accustomed themselves to drink two or three Glasses at Dinner, and as many at Supper constantly, receive no manner of good from it, and endanger their Health when they leave it off; so that they oblige themselves to follow a Course, of which the Continuance can be of no profit, and the Neglect will prove prejudicial; which is the same thing as entring into Bond without the least Consideration.

Whatever Medicines operate insensibly ought to be continued for a great while; but it is quite contrary with those that make a visible Alteration in the Body: Wine is without doubt of the latter.

Misom. Yet in the Quantity I take it, I am never sensible of any Operation of it.

Phil. This is no Fault of the Medicine; but a certain Sign, that you either have made it too familiar to your Constitution, or else mistake the Dose; an Error very common in Physick, even among Men of Skill, of which I shall be glad to talk with you more amply at another time.

Misom. I have indeed detain'd you unreasonably: And I am going now to take my stomachick Tincture, of which and every thing that does me good I shall claim the

Receipt according to your Promise; but pray, since you are so communicative, why are you so scrupulous to say what they are before-hand?

Phil. Because I have observed, that when People, who have found many Medicines ineffectual, meet with any Ingredients in a Prescription, that are either the same with, or in their Opinion less efficacious, than what they have already try'd to no purpose, they often take up a Prejudice against the whole Composition. This ought to be prevented in all Distempers, but more especially those, in which the Fancy has so great a Share, and the least Trifle is of moment. I am not only careful of the *Idiosyncrasis*, but likewise strive to fall in with the very Humours and Inclinations of my Patients: As for Example, as soon as I heard you was a Man of Learning, and lov'd Quotations from Classick Authors, I answer'd you in your own Dialect, and often strain'd myself to imitate what in you is natural: I would not have talk'd so to a modishly ignorant Courtier, that would call it perhaps Pedantick.²⁰⁴

In Diseases of the Spirits, where no Violence is to be used, every thing that can help ought to be call'd to our Assistance; upon which Head I could say abundance, if my Time would permit me; but to explain my Meaning as shortly as possible, I shall, with your Leave, read a few Lines to you of the late ingenious Author before you; who certainly look'd more narrowly into the Nature of what we talk of than I ever met with: After which I shall beg to be dismiss'd. *This is a Distemper*, says he, *pag. 142* (speaking of the *Hypochondriacal*) *which will not drive, as we say, but if kindly treated will lead; that is, will not be expell'd by Purging, Bleeding, Sweating, or the like; but must be treated by more gentle and leisurely Methods; 'tis a Distemper of the Spirits and the Vessels which immediately convey them; and therefore those Means, by which they are more immediately affected, are the most likely to prove beneficial. Here it is, if ever strictly true, that a little Matter gives the Turn; but then that little Matter must be equally applied; we must give an equal List to all the Parts of the Economy at the same time.*²⁰⁵

Misom. This indeed jumps exactly with your Practice, and might serve to strengthen my Confidence in you; if what you have said your self before had been less satisfactory: But without the Concurrence of the Opinion of any other, I am fully convinced that your Method of managing the Distempers we have treated of is most rational, and think my self extremely obliged to you for the Patience and good Humour you have shew'd, not only in solving and answering the many Doubts I have started, and Objections I have made; but likewise in bearing with all my diffusive Talk, and impertinent Digressions.

Phil. To over-pay a Man first, and thank him afterwards, I know is the Height of Civility; in return of which, as I am, (a) *Vitio gentisque meoque*, an utter Stranger to Compliments, and yet willing to shew you how well I am pleas'd with my Afternoon's Work, in regard as well of your entertaining Company, as splendid Reward, I shall only say in Ovid's Words,

^a *Through a Fault both of my Country and my own.* Ovid.
[Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book VI, l. 460].

(a) *Eveniant medii sic mihi sæpe dies!*

Misom. By yours Means, I believe, I shall be brought at last to forsake a Remedy that to my Fancy has hitherto always reliev'd me.

Phil. What is that? Wine?

Misom. No: It is what no Physician ever prescrib'd to his Patient, at least not heartily——(b) *Non audio eloqui. Divina.*

Phil. (c) *Non mea est Divinatio; Philopirio sum, non Œdipus.* (d) *Est ne quid obscæni?*

Misom. (e) *Nihil minus, attamen fateri pudet: dicam in aurem.*

Phil. (f) *Vetus hoc est: Novo Medico gaudent omnes Hypochondriaci: sed quod remedium credis flagitare symptoma morbi est.*

Misom. (g) *Ergo tuum est tollere; quâ in re quæso ut advigiles.*

Phil. (h) *Desine: Præscriptiones nostræ hoc tibi cum cæteris effectum dabunt, et si faveant conatibus superi, neque ipse tibi desis, propediem pancreaticæ valebis.*

FINIS

^a *May I often have such Afternoons!*

[Ovid, *Amores*, Elegy V, “His delight at having obtained Corinna’s favours”, l. 26. Ovid’s original verse is here misquoted: “proveniant medii sic mihi sæpe dies!”]

^b *I dare not speak out. Guess.*

^c *Divination is not my Business. I am Philopirio, not Œdipus.* This latter is an Allusion to a Passage in Terence.

[Terence, *Andria*, Act I, 2: *Davos*: “Non Davos sum, non Œdipus” (193)].

^d *Is it something that is smutty?*

^e *Nothing less, yet I am ashamed to own it: I’ll whisper it to you.*

^f *That’s old. All Hypochondriacal People are delighted with a new Physician. But to long for what you take to be a Remedy, is a Symptom of the Disease.*

^g *Therefore it is your business to remove it: In which Affair I desire you to take great Care.*

^h *Say no more. My Prescriptions will among others have this Effect; and with the Blessing of God and your own Endeavours, you’ll be well and lusty in a little Time.*

Notes

Notes to the Note on the Text and Introduction

- i. Mandeville's address is repeated at the end of the Preface: "*From my House in Manchester-Court, Channel-Row, Westminster.*"
- ii. *A Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Passions, vulgarly call'd the hypo in men and vapours in women; In which the Symptoms, Causes, and Cure of those Diseases are set forth after a Method intirely new. The whole interspers'd, with Instructive Discourses on the Real art of Physick it self; And Entertaining Remarks on the Modern Practice of Physicians and Apothecaries; Very useful to all, that have the Misfortune to stand in need of either. In three dialogues. By B. de Mandeville, M.D.* (London, printed for and to be had of the author, at his house in Manchester-Court, in Channel-Row, Westminster; and D. Leach, in the Little-Old-Baily, and W. Taylor, at the Ship in Pater-Noster-Row, and J. Woodward in Scalding-Alley, near Stocks-Market, 1711). The second 1711 issue bears the following publication details: "London, printed and sold by Dryden Leach, in Elliot's Court, in the Little-Old-Baily, and W. Taylor, at the Ship in Pater-Noster-Row, 1711". The 1715 reprint bears the same title with different publication details (London, printed by Dryden Leach, in Elliot's Court, in the Little Old-Baily, and sold by Charles Rivington, at the Bible and Crown, near the Chapter-House in St. Paul's Church Yard, 1715). *A Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Diseases. In three dialogues. By B. Mandeville, M.D.*, The second edition: corrected and enlarged by the author (London, printed for J. Tonson in the Strand, 1730). The reprint issued in 1730 bears the same title and publication details, but is presented on the title page as "The third edition" although it is identical to the previous, so called "second edition".

- iii. For further details see note 10.
- iv. Bernard Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees*, F.B. Kaye (ed.), 2 vols. (Oxford, Clarendon, 1924), vol. 2, p. 16. Other references to *The Fable of the Bees* will be to Kaye's edition throughout, unless specified otherwise.
- v. R. Dekker, "'Private vices, public virtues' revisited: The Dutch background of Bernard Mandeville", *History of European Ideas*, vol. 14, n°4, 1992, p. 481–498; Sir George Clark, *History of the Royal College of Physicians*, 4 vols. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1966), vol. 2, p. 476–480.
- vi. Benjamin Franklin, *Autobiography*, (ed.) Joyce E. Chaplin (New York, Norton, 2012) p. 43–44. The tavern mentioned by Franklin may have been The Horn Tavern within the Doctor's Commons. The Horn Tavern was a meeting place for a 'free and easy' club and, although probably later, for some masonic lodges. According to Valérie Capdeville—who tried to help me identify "the Horns"—Mandeville may have been a member of the earlier Hellfire Club. See John Brewer, *Party Ideology and Popular Politics at the Accession of George III* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 149 and 195.
- vii. F.B. Kaye (ed.), *The Fable of the Bees*, vol. 1., p. vii.
- viii. Joannes Groenevelt, *Tuto Cantharidum in Medicina usus internus*, second edition (London, John Taylor, 1703), n.p. The poem is signed "B. Mandeville, M.D." although in the first English edition of the book, published in 1706, the translated poem is signed "I.F. Philo-Medicus". For more on the relations between Mandeville, Groenevelt and the Royal College of Physicians, see Harold J. Cook, "Treating of bodies medical and political: Dr. mandeville's materialism" *Erasmus Journal for Philosophy and Economics*, vol. 9, Issue 1 (Spring 2016), pp. 1–31; E.J. Hundert, *The Enlightenment's Fable. Bernard Mandeville and the Discovery of Society* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 23; Margaret DeLacy, *The Germ of an Idea; Contagionism, Religion, and Society in Britain 1660–1730* (Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2016), p. 111.
- ix. *Some Fables after the Easie and Method of Monsieur de La Fontaine* (London, s.n., 1703) republished the following year in a substantially enlarged version (*Æsop Dress'd, or a Collection of Fables writ in Familiar Verses* (London, R. Wellington, 1704), this subsequent edition contains Mandeville's translation of La Fontaine's 'Les Membres et l'estomac' ('The Hands, the Feet and the Belly') which heralds the passages on the supremacy of digestion included in the *Treatise* and hint at the body as a metaphor of government he uses in *The Fable of the Bees* (vol.1, p. 3).
- x. *Typhon: or the Wars Between the Gods and Giants: A Burlesque Poem in Imitation of the Comical Mons. Scarron* (London, J. Pero, 1704); *The Grumbling Hive, or Knaves Turn'd Honest* (London, S. Ballard, 1705); *The Virgin Unmask'd or; a Female Dialogue Betwixt an Elderly Maiden Lady, and her Niece, in Several Diverting discourses on Love, Marriage, Memoirs and Morals of the Time* (London, J. Morphew, 1709). Further translations of Scarron's *Typhon* were included a year after the publication of the *Treatise*

- in *Wishes to a Godson* (London, J. Baker, 1712). For more details on the writings of Bernard Mandeville, see Kaye's invaluable bibliography: F.B. Kaye, "The Writings of Bernard Mandeville: a Bibliographical Survey" *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, vol. 20, October 1, 1921, p. 419–467.
- xi. Mandeville uses similar props in the dialogue of *The Fable of the Bees, Part II*. In the first dialogue, Cleomenes shows Horatio a "Dutch piece of the Nativity", and in the third dialogue, he shows Horatio a book (the 1714 edition of *The Fable of the Bees*) and offers to read him a passage.
 - xii. Again, food is also used as a token of friendship in the second part of *The Fable of the Bees*. At the end of the first dialogue, Horatio invites Cleomenes to pursue their conversation over a fine dinner ("Hor. I am sorry to leave you [...] But if you will come and eat a Bit of Mutton with me to-morrow, I'll see no body but your self, and we'll converse as long as you please. — Cleo. With all my Heart. I'll not fail to wait on you."), and in the fourth dialogue he offers to reward Cleomenes with a gift of exotic fruit ("I know you are a lover of fine Fruit, if you'll dine with me to-morrow, I'll give you an Ananas:").
 - xiii. *Fable of the Bees*, vol. 2, p.8.
 - xiv. *Fable of the Bees*, vol. 2, p.8. Mandeville mentions Plato repeatedly in this passage. As to Plato's opinion of dialogues, F.B. Kaye traced it back to *Theætetus* (143c): "Euclides: Here is the book, Terpsion. Now this is the way I wrote the conversation: I did not represent Socrates relating it to me, as he did, but conversing with those with whom he told me he conversed. And he told me they were the geometrician Theodorus and Theaetetus. Now in order that the explanatory words between the speeches might not be annoying in the written account, such as "and I said" or "and I remarked," whenever Socrates spoke, or "he agreed or he did not agree," in the case of the interlocutor, I omitted all that sort of thing and represented Socrates himself as talking with them."
 - xv. *Fable of the Bees*, vol. 2, p. 9.
 - xvi. *Fable of the Bees*, vol. 2, p. 10.
 - xvii. For further reading on Mandeville's handling of dialogues, see Timothy Dykstal, *The Luxury of Skepticism: Politics, Philosophy, and Dialogue in the English Public Sphere, 1660–1740* (Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, 2001), especially chapter 4, "Mandeville: Dialogue as commerce", pp. 105–131. See also Michael Prince, *Philosophical Dialogue in the British Enlightenment: Theology, Aesthetics and the Novel* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996), especially pp. 203–212. On the development of dialogues in Mandeville's time, see Eugene Purpus, "The Plain, easy, and familiar way: the dialogue in English literature, 1660–1725." *ELH*, 17 (1950), pp. 47–58.
 - xviii. On the Hippocratic regimen see Hynek Bartos, *Philosophy and Dietetics in the Hippocratic On Regime*, *Studies in Ancient Medicine*, vol. 44 (Leiden, Brill, 2015); Jacques Jouanna, *Greek Medicine from Hippocrates to Galen:*

- Selected papers* (Leiden, Brill, 2012); Serena Buzzi, *Il Regime di Salute in Medicina. Dalla Dieta Ippocratica all'Epigenetica* (Alessandria, Edizioni Dell'Orso, 2017). Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy, what it is. With all the kindes, causes, symptomes, prognostickes, and severall cures of it. In three maine partitions with their severall sections, members, and sub-sections. Philosophically, medicinally, historically, opened and cut up. By Democritus Junior. With a satyricall preface, conducing to the following discourse* (Oxford, printed by John Lichfield and James Short, for Henry Cripps, 1621).
- xix. *The Fable of the Bees*, vol. 2, p. 171. On excessive reading and on the profusion of information in the early modern period see Ann M. Blair, *Too Much to Know. Managing Scholarly Information befoire the Modern Age* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2010).
 - xx. On Mandeville's *Treatise* as a talking cure, see Mauro Simonazzi, "Bernard Mandeville on hypochondria and self-liking", *Erasmus Journal for Philosophy and Economics*, vol. 9, issue 1, spring 2016, pp. 62–81; Sylvie Kleiman-Lafon, "The Healing Power of Words: Medicine as Literature in Bernard Mandeville's *Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Diseases*" in Sophie Vasset (ed.) *Medicine and Narration in the XVIIIth Century* (Oxford, SVEC, 2013), pp. 161–181.
 - xxi. *The Fable of the Bees*, I, p. 39.
 - xxii. *The Fable of the Bees*, II, p. 99. It is worth noting that Jacques Abbadie's *L'Art de se connaître soy-même*, initially published in Rotterdam in 1692, was published in English three years later as *The Art of Knowing one-Self* (Oxford, Leonard Liechfield, 1695). Mandeville may have met Abbadie during one of the Frenchman's numerous trips to Holland, and had probably read his book.
 - xxiii. See Neil de Marchi, "Exposure to strangers and superfluities; Mandeville's regimen for great wealth and foreign treasure" in Peter Groenewegen (ed.) *Physicians and Political Economy: Six Studies of the Works of Doctors Economists* (London, Routledge, 2001), p.89 (n.14).
 - xxiv. Friedrich A. Hayek, "Dr. Bernard Mandeville," Lecture on a Master Mind series, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 52 (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 125–141.
 - xxv. Mauro Simonazzi, "Bernard Mandeville on hypochondria and self-liking", *Erasmus Journal for Philosophy and Economics*, vol. 9, issue 1, Spring 2016, pp. 62–81. See Thomas Apperley, *Observations in Physick, both Rational and Practical, with a Treatise of the Small-Pox* (London, W. Innys, 1731). The passage on digestion in which Mandeville's name appears (and in which Mandeville's text is largely reproduced without any clear indication of the source) is on pp. 182–189. Examples of Apperley's plundering of Mandeville's work are too numerous to be listed here, but a simple look at the table of content of his *Observations* points to many echoes and correspondances.
 - xxvi. T. Apperley, *Observations in Physick*, p. xvii.

- xxvii. William Black, *An Historical Sketch of Medicine and Surgery, from their origin to the present time; and of the principal Authors, Discoveries, Improvement, Imperfections and Errors* (London, J. Johnson, 1782); Thomas Withers, *Observations on Chronic Weakness* (York, printed by A. Ward and sold by T. Cadell... and W. Nicoll... in London, 1777); Robert Whytt, *Observations on the nature, causes, and cure of those disorders which have been commonly called nervous hypochondriac, or hysteric, To which are prefixed some Remarks on the Sympathy of the Nerves* (Edinburgh, Becket and du Hondt, 1765).
- xxviii. George Cheyne, *The English Malady: or, a Treatise of nervous Diseases of all Kinds, as Spleen, Vapours, Lowness of Spirits, Hypochondriacal, and Hysterical Distempers, &c.* (London, G. Stratham, 1733).

Note to the Title Page of the 1730 Edition

1. “But Iapyx, in order to delay the fate of his dying father, chose knowledge of the virtues of herbs, and the use of medicine, and, without fame, to practise the silent arts.” Virgil, *Aeneid*, Book XII.

Notes to Mandeville’s Prefaces

2. The idea that man’s Fall explained the existence of diseases was still widespread when Mandeville wrote his treatise. Robert Burton mentions it in the opening section of *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (“Man’s fall and Miseries”, “Impulsive Cause of Man’s Misery and Infirmities”). Among the numerous authors quoted by Mandeville, Jan-Baptist van Helmont also mentions it at great length.
3. For this quotation from Baglivi and the following ones, the Latin edition of reference is Giorgio Baglivi, *De Praxi medica at priscam observandi rationem revocanda* (Rome, Dominici Antonii Herculis, 1696) Book I, chap. 2, V, p. 8. For a translation in English see note (a) p. 26 of the Preface to the 1730 edition in the present book.
4. Aristotelian scientists believed that Nature had no secrets (and that the world was exactly as we saw it), and therefore that experimentation was not needed to explain the causes of natural phenomena. This conception was challenged by the new science and the inductive method of reasoning developed, among others, by Francis Bacon. It was also later challenged by Descartes. For further reading on Aristotelian science in the early-modern period, see Marco Sgarbi, *The Aristolian Tradition and the Rise of British Empiricism* (Dordrecht, Springer, 2013); see also note 37.

5. Frans de le Boë Sylvius, *Opera medica* (Amsterdam and Paris, Frederic Leonard, 1679), Appendix, Tractatus VII “De Affectione Hypochondriaca”, CCXXIX, pp. 775. For a translation in English see note (b) p. 26.
6. Mandeville is here alluding to a joke made about his name, which had probably started to circulate after the publication of *The Fable of the Bees*. It was apparently long-lived since it was taken up several decades later in a text published against the book in 1732 (*The Characters of the Times delineated*, p. 10):

“If GOD-MAN Vice to abolish came,
 Who Vice commends, MAN-DEVIL be his name.”
 See *The Fable of the Bees*, vol. 2, p. 424.
7. Mandeville takes up here a petition to the reader he had already tested in his preface to *The Virgin Unmask'd*, in 1709: “When in the First Dialogue you meet with any Thing harsh, and perhaps very disagreeable to the Ladies, suspend your Judgement till you come to the Second; for there you’ll find, that what *Lucinda* has said to her Niece before, was only a sophistical Way of Arguing, to put a Young Beautiful Lady out of Conceit with herself, in hopes to make her neglectful of her Charms. Some people open a Book anywhere, and having read a few Lines, throw it by; therefore, if you should stumble upon the wicked Sophistry of *Dorante*, I would desire you to go on a Little further...”
8. *Octavia* is a tragedy by Seneca on the repudiation of Octavia by Nero, who then took Poppæa as his second wife. Seneca appears in the play as Nero’s preceptor. Mandeville repeats here what he had written in the preface to Part II of *The Fable of the Bees* about the characters of Cleomenes and Horatio: “As it is supposed, that Cleomenes is my friend, and speaks my sentiments, so it is but justice, that every thing which he advances should be looked upon and considered as my own; but no man in his senses would think, that I ought to be equally responsible for every thing that Horatio says, who is his antagonist.” In both works, Mandeville probably alternately uses both characters to voice his opinions, even though Philopirio and Cleomenes are more consistently used as his alter egos. See Bernard Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees*, F. B. Kaye (ed.), vol. 2, p. 16.
9. The passage Mandeville is here alluding to was deleted in the 1730 edition. The passage mentioned Mandeville’s father, Michael.
10. Mandeville is rather cryptically alluding to a particular episode in the history of the Mandeville family and of the city of Rotterdam. Michael Mandeville was also a physician and a specialist of both digestion and the nervous system. He was also lieutenant of Rotterdam’s militia between 1686 and 1690. As such, he became involved with his son in the Costerman riots that occurred in Rotterdam between September 17 and October 5, 1690. A member of the Rotterdam militia, Cornelis Costerman, was sentenced to death for the murder of an excise officer responsible for the collection of a tax on alcohol. Several days of violent unrest followed his execution and Bernard Mandeville and his father were then accused of siding with the rioters and of having written a

sedition libel that directed the mob's hatred and violence against the city's Bailiff. Bernard Mandeville left Rotterdam in 1690 and went back to Leiden, where he became doctor of medicine before leaving for a tour of Europe during which he apparently went to Paris, Geneva, Rome and London. His father was sentenced to banishment in 1692 and left Rotterdam the following year. He settled in Amsterdam, where he practised as a physician until his death in 1699. For further details on this episode, see R. Dekker, "'Private vices, public virtues' revisited: The Dutch background of Bernard Mandeville", *History of European Ideas*, vol. 14, n°4, 1992, pp. 481–498.

11. The passage between brackets was added to the second 1711 issue of the *Treatise*, while Mandeville's address (Manchester-Court, in Channel-Row, Westminster) was removed from the last page of the preface and from the bottom of the title page. Manchester-Court was a small alley near Westminster Bridge, running perpendicularly to the Thames, where it ended with a few steps (Manchester Stairs). It no longer exists. Channel's row is now Canon Row and still runs parallel to Parliament Street. Mauro Simonazzi sees the decision not to disclose Mandeville's personal address as a sign of the editorial success of the treatise, under the pressure of the number of readers (and would-be patients) turning up for advice. This may be true, but I also think that Mandeville may have had second thoughts about making his address public while claiming that he did not write the treatise to enlarge his practice (although he may have enjoyed the contradiction). John Marten, a renowned venereologist and translator of Joannes Groenevelt's treatise on the use of cantharides (see note viii) had no scruples about giving his own address (with the utmost precision) at the bottom of the translator's preface: "John Marten, Chyrurgeon, From my House in Bridge-Water-Square, near Aldersgate Street, London, a Golden Head over the Door".
12. On page 39 of the so-called « Third edition », Mandeville discusses the necessity for a good practitioner to remain by the patient's bedside. In this edition see page 46.
13. Mandeville writes on vapours (hypochondria and hysteria) at a time when hysteria is being more often described as a nervous disease than as a disease prompted by the unpredictable movements of the uterus. For a comprehensive history of hysteria, see Sabine Arnaud, *On Hysteria: the invention of a medical category between 1670 and 1820* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2015).
14. When Mandeville published the second, enlarged edition of the *Treatise*, the violent quarrel that had surrounded the publication of the second volume of the *Fable of the Bees* had not abated. In 1726, in the third of a series of three letters published in the *Dublin Weekly Journal*, Francis Hutcheson had accused Mandeville of imposing upon his readers by overloading his books with pedantic references to classic knowledge, preferably in Latin: "There is one Outwork of these Authors, which, though it be not their main Strength, yet is often of great Consequence to terrify the timorous Reader, or Adversary: I mean *Open Vanity*, and Pretences to the deepest Knowledge.—*Hic Murus Abienus esto.*" (in *The Dublin Weekly Journal*, Saturday, Feb. 19th, 1726).

This certainly prompted Mandeville to give the translation of the Latin quotations he used extensively in the *Treatise*, and to insert this justification in the 1730 preface.

15. An equal concern for verisimilitude is to be found at the end of the preface to the second edition of *Free Thoughts on Religion*: “N.B. Tho’ the additions and alterations of this second edition are many and considerable, yet what is said of *Gibraltar*, agrees exactly with the first that was printed in 1720”. B.M. [Bernard Mandeville], *Free Thoughts on religion, the Church, and National Happiness*. 2d edition (London, John Brotherton, 1729), p. xiv.

Notes to the First Dialogue

16. In *The Fable of the Bees, Part II*, the first dialogue opens with a very similar exchange:
 “Cleo. Always in haste, *Horatio*?—Hor. I must beg you to excuse me, I am oblig’d to go.”
 (vol. 2, p. 29)
17. “Crab’s eyes” were concretions that appeared in the stomach of a crustacean named *cancer astacus*. They contained calcium carbonate and phosphate and were used as an absorbant and antiacid. “Bole armenick” (Armenian Bole) is a powder made of clay or crumbling stones brought from Armenia and used against diarrhea and dysentery.
18. Mandeville does not give the translation of this Latin sentence in the 1730 edition. It has the same meaning as “to kill two birds with one stone.”
19. The word *viscus* refers to the intestines. It is the singular form of *viscera*. *Antispasms* describes bloodletting performed on the corresponding opposite part of the body. *Revulsion*, or *derivation* consisted in the artificial irritation of another part of the body in order to diminish or remove the morbid condition in one area (the lungs, the stomach, etc.). *Venesection* was the practice of general bloodletting, as opposed to local bleeding. The *Vena Salvatella* is a superficial vein on the back of the hand.
20. The adjective *peccant* qualified anything that could induce a disease, more particularly humours. A *trochiscus* (troche) is a lozenge; the *trochiscus alhandulæ* was made of citrus and coloquinth powder. *Diagridium* is the juice of scammony, the resin of which (contained in its roots) was used as a cathartic. *Turpeth* is also a convolvulaceous plant known for the purgative properties of its roots. The dried leaves of *Senna alexandrina* were used as a laxative.
21. Spirits, or animal spirits are discussed extensively throughout the *Treatise*. The ancients considered that there were three sorts of spirits in the human body: natural spirits, vital spirits, and animal spirits. They were thought to serve as messengers between the senses, the body and the brain. The early modern conception of the spirits gathers those three different sorts of spirits

- into one, the animal spirits, by which the body and the soul communicate. The nature of these animal spirits was the subject of many conjectures. Some, like Descartes, thought they were close to air or wind (the *pneuma* of the ancients), and Descartes writes in his *Traité de l'homme*: “Les parties du sang qui montent au cerveau produisent un vent très subtil ou plutôt une flamme très vive et très pure, qu'on nomme les esprits animaux.” For Willis, they were minute particles separated from the blood by distillation; they could become corrosive under the effect of melancholy and attack the brain. Mandeville thought they were minute entities that were filtered and refined in the digestive tract before entering the blood-system. He ascribes them a capital role in the general economy of the body, and links hypochondria and hysteria to a deficiency of the spirits. For further reading on the subject see John Sutton, *Philosophy and memory traces* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998) especially pp. 25–49; Richard Sugg, *The Smoke of the Soul; Medicine, Physiology and Religion in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).
22. *Fomes ventriculi* was another name for the spleen, implying that it warmed the stomach.
 23. A *menstruum* is a solvent or any liquid that dissolves solids. Some early modern physicians (such as Pietro Castelli or Daniel Sennert) considered digestion as the action of an acid ferment found in the stomach, while others, influenced by ancient authors, believed it was produced by heat (concoction) and others, such as Borelli, by the movement of the bowels (trituration). See Antonio Clericuzio, “Mechanism and Chemical Medicine in seventeenth-Century England: Boyle’s Investigation of Ferments and Fermentation” in Peter Distelzweig, Benjamin Goldberg and Evan R. Ragland (eds.), *Early Modern Medicine and Natural Philosophy* (Dordrecht, Springer, 2016), pp. 271–294.
 24. A *Chalybeate* water was a mineral water that contained carbonate or sulphate of iron, such as Tunbridge water or Brighton water. The term was also applied to wine containing steel. *Carminative* drugs induced the expulsion of gas from the stomach and intestines.
 25. Mandeville added this passage on the observation of urine to underline the gullible nature of Misomedon, but also to avert accusations of quackery. At the end of the seventeenth century, uroscopy, or the medical observation and analysis of urine, was frequently associated with quacks, although Mandeville seems to believe that it can be useful if done properly (as recommended by the ancients). See for example: *The Modern Quack, by a London Physician* (1718; London, T. Warner, 1724); Roy Porter, *Health for Sale. Quackery in England, 1660–1850* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1989), pp. 129–130.
 26. This sentence was removed from the revised 1730 edition. It is taken from Virgil’s *Aeneid*, IV, 1–30: “Sister Anne, what visionary Dreams terrify and distract my Mind?”
 27. Steel (as well as other metallic substances) was widely used as a remedy against nervous diseases and digestive disorders.
 28. Antigonus III Doson was King of Macedon between 229 and 221 BC. According to Plutarch, he was given the derisory nickname of Doson

- (always promising) because he made promises he never kept. See Plutarch, *Lives*, "Coriolanus" 11.2–3.
29. This passage echoes what Mandeville develops at greater length in *The Fable of the Bees*. The *Treatise* could be seen as an illustration of the common good as the sum of a given number of potentially conflicting self-interests: the private interest of the patient and the private interest of his physician are not necessarily incompatible as long as they each know themselves well enough to reach a reasonable perception of their relation. As to writing poems and translating foreign books, Mandeville is here ironically giving his own life as an example, since he wrote poems and had translated several works from the French before writing the *Treatise*.
 30. Mandeville plays here on the several meanings of the word *bolus*, which means a profit but also a lump and by extension a medicated tablet or lozenge.
 31. Mandeville removed from the 1730 edition a whole portion of autobiographic details. The 1711 edition was as follows: "... application makes everything easie, tho' I should hardly have ventur'd upon it, if I had not seen something of it, *a teneris*, and been led into it by the long experience of a Father before me, who, when he died had been a Physician above 38 Years, in two very Populous Cities, and as he had some success in the Distempers we speak of, at the very beginning of his Practice, tho' it was general, so it cannot be imagin'd, but that through the whole course of it he must have seen numbers of Patients that labour'd under them."
 32. (1711) "to what I Ail, and you profess to Cure."
 33. Misomedon is here alluding to two letters published in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society in 1693 and 1694, and reprinted in Edmund Halley's *Miscellanea Curiosa*, vol. III (London, R. Smith, 1708), pp. 281–355. The passage referred to is from "A Letter from Mr. John Clayton Rector of Crofton at Wakefield in Yorkshire, to the Royal Society, May 12. 1688. giving an Account of several Observables in Virginia, and in his Voyage thither, more particularly concerning the Air.", (Of the Air): "'Tis wonderful what influence the Air has over Men's Bodies, whereof I had my self sad Assurances; for tho' I was in a very close warm Room, where was a Fire constantly kept, yet there was not the least Alteration or Change, whereof I was not sensible when I was sick of the Gripes, of which Distemper I may give a farther Account in it's proper Place. When a very ingenious Gentlewoman was visited with the same Distemper, I had the Opportunity of making very considerable Observations. I stood at the Window, and could view the Clouds arise: for there small black fleeting Clouds will arise, and be swiftly carry'd cross the whole Element; and as these Clouds arose, and came nigher, her Torments were encreased, which were grievous as a labouring Womans; there was not the least Cloud but lamentably affected her, and that at a considerable Distance; but by her Shrieks it seemed more or less, according to the Bigness and nearness of the Clouds."
 34. Salivation has long been the prescribed treatment against syphilis. The ingestion of a large dose of mercury induced salivation, which was thought to allow

- the evacuation of the vitiated humours. The word “lues” appeared in English around 1634 to characterise syphilis (from the Latin *Lues venera* (venereal plague)).
35. *Gratis dictum*: a legal term meaning a voluntary assertion not meant to be precise or accurate.
 36. *De statu mortuorum*: the state of the dead. *De Statu Mortuorum et Resurgentium* is the full title of a book by the English theologian Thomas Burnet (1635–1715), posthumously published (around 50 copies) in 1720 by Richard Mead with the approval of the then Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Macclesfield, and circulated among a very limited number of persons. Mandeville may have had access to either this confidential edition or to the unauthorised translation into English, but more probably to the many subsequent reprints that appeared after 1727.
 37. Mandeville is here putting this long digression on matter and the nature of the soul in Misedon’s mouth, mainly because he obviously felt the need to distance himself from Cartesian philosophy. Misomedon seems to take up Descartes’ own interrogations about the ability of matter to think. For further reading on early modern materialism and Descartes, see for example John W. Yolton, *Materialism in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1983); Nicholas Jolley, *Locke’s Touchy Subjects. Materialism and Immortality* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2015). This digression on the soul was added to the 1730 edition. The original passage was conspicuously shorter: “The Bodies contract with the Soul must be suppos’d to have been made at least upon an even foot, because the first was the Elder of the two, and without doubt both equally engag’d on Terms of mutual Affection and Assistance: But would you see the Depth of human Pride; look on the uncharitable Haughtiness of Virtue itself, that makes us, who are the Compound of the two, barbarously despise the most endearing half of our selves, that scorns not to be seen: And why? Because ’tis meanly born, and will fall to decay; whilst it obliges us, to be over-fond of that insulting surly part, that is invisible only, because ’tis thought of great Extraction, and hop’d to be Immortal.”
 38. Although Mandeville’s comprehensive discussion of the value of hypotheses in the practice of medicine and in the more general constitution of scientific knowledge is directly inspired by his reading of Giorgio Baglivi’s *Practice of Physick* (London, Andrew Bell et al., 1704), it undoubtedly reflects an early-modern concern triggered by Francis Bacon’s theory of knowledge and revived by Isaac Newton’s famous sentence “*Hypotheses non fingo*” (which was added in 1713 by Newton at the end of the second edition of the *Principia*). For more on the subject, see Lisa Jardine, *Francis Bacon: Discovery and the Art of Discourse* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1974); H. Floris Cohen, *How Modern Science came into the World* (Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2010); William L. Harper, *Isaac Newton’s Scientific Method* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2011); I. Bernard Cohen, “The First English version of Newton’s *Hypotheses non fingo*”, *Isis*, vol. 53, n°3 (Sept. 1962),

- pp. 379–388; Alexandre Koyré, “L’Hypothèse et l’expérience chez Newton,” *Bulletin de la Société Française de Philosophie*, 1956, 50, pp. 59–79.
39. Mandeville changed the original sentence (1711): “otherwise than by removing them,” proposing a more modest program in the 1730 edition.
 40. Galen (c. 129–210 AD) rested his medical theory on three categories: the “naturals” (physiology, or the natural constitution of each individual: age, sex, complexion, etc.), the “non-naturals” (everything that is not innate and alters the constitution), and the “praeternaturals” or “contra-naturals” (things that go against nature, pathology). The preservation of health and the prevention or cure of diseases rested on a thorough knowledge of all three categories. The non-naturals (that are external to the body, or the natural constitution) are elements over which individuals have a measure of control. These external elements are air and environment, food and drink, sleep, motion and rest, retention and evacuation, and emotions (or passions). Whenever they are in excess or, on the contrary, whenever the patient has had too little of one or several of these elements, the imbalance that ensues allows diseases to develop. The reasonable use of the non-naturals forms the basis of Galen’s hygiene (the art of good health, named after the Greek goddess of health Hygieia) and of Philopirio’s proposed treatment. For more on these Galenic categories, see Jack W. Berryman, “The Tradition of the ‘Six Things Non-Natural’: Exercise and Medicine from Hippocrates through Ante-Bellum America”, *Exercise and Sport Sciences reviews* (1989), n°17, pp. 515–59; L.J. Rather, “The Six Things Non-Natural: A Note on the Origins and Fate of a Doctrine and a Phrase”, *Clio Medica*, 3 (1968), pp. 337–347; Peter H. Niebyl, “The Non-naturals”, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, September 1, 1971, 45, 5, pp. 486–492.
 41. Mandeville is alluding to two rival schools of medicine in ancient Greece: Cos (on the island of Cos) and Cnidus (on the Cnidian peninsula). Cnidus was supposed to profess an empiric approach to the practice of medicine while Cos (Hippocrates’ birthplace) insisted on importance of theory.
 42. “Jevain” is cited by Baglivi (Book I, chap. XI, VI), in the Latin edition of *De Praxi Medica*: “Sciendum est antea, nullam hujusmodi apud pricos Græcos Medicinæ in speculativam, & practicam fuisse subdivisionem: Primus Jevain Medicus Arabum, vel speculationum jucunditate allectus, vel Praxeos labore in comparanda morbum historia, & obscurissimi eorundem causis investigandis perterrefactus, illam excogitavit; sed paulò post ab Alcorazoen redargutus est, ut fuse notat Averrhoes tract. I. part. 1 super Canticos.” It survived as “Jevain” in the subsequent English and French translations, and Boucher, the nineteenth-century French translator of *De Praxi medica*, added a footnote to inform the readers that he had been unable find any information about this apparently controverted physician. I am tremendously indebted to Caroline Petit, Peter Adamson and especially Joël Chandelier for their help in solving the riddle. “Jevain” is in fact Baglivi’s (or his source’s) erroneous transcription of “Iacuin”, who is indeed mentioned in the Latin edition of Averrhoes’ commentary of Avicenna’s poem on medicine (*Translatio canticorum Avicennæ cum commento Averrois*, translated by Armengaud Blaise—Arnaud de

Villeneuve's nephew—and published in 1283 in Montpellier): “Primus autem qui expresse posuit hanc divisionem medicinae fuit Iacuain Medicus, quem Alcorazoen redarguit et reprehendit.” Iacuain was in fact Hunayn ibn Ishâq, a physician and translator from Bagdad (809–873). Alcorazoen was Ibn Ridwân (c. 988 – c. 1061), an Egyptian physician and astronomer.

43. This long development replaces a much shorter passage in the 1711 edition:

In things that merely depend upon Notions you are in the right, but it is otherwise in Arts; for when a Man has no other reason for what he does, than his joint Observations, it is impossible, that he can give you the one without the other; that is, he can never explain his reasons to you, unless he could likewise communicate to you his joint observations, which are his Skill.

44. (1711) “when you reflected on the Body’s contract with the Soul.”

45. The universities of Padua and Leiden had been pioneers in bedside teaching. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the curators of the univerisity of Leiden decided that twelve beds were to be assigned to the professors in charge of clinical teaching. It was later developed by Frans “Sylvius” de le Boë, who made hospital visits a compulsory part of the curriculum. See Knoeff, Rina: “Dutch Anatomy and Clinical Medicine in 17th-Century Europe,” in: *European History Online* (EGO), published by the Leibniz Institute of European History (IEG), Mainz 2012–06–20. URL: <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/knoeffr-2012-en> URN: <urn:nbn:de:0159-2012060623> [2016–02–23].

46. See *The Tatler*, n°93, November 12, 1709. (XI.—DUELLO): “I have upon my chamber-walls drawn at full length the figures of all sorts of men, from eight foot to three foot two inches. Within this height, I take it, that all the fighting men of Great Britain are comprehended. [...] I must confess I have had great success, and have hit every figure round the room in a mortal part, without receiving the least hurt, except a little scratch by falling on my face, in pushing at one of the lower end of my chamber.” Isaac Bickerstaff was the persona of Richard Steele in *The Tatler* between 1709 and 1711. He was repeatedly ridiculed by Bernard Mandeville in *The Female Tatler* (1709–1710) to which Mandeville contributed under the pseudonyms of Artesia and Lucinda (issues 52 to 111). See Maurice Marks Goldsmith (ed.), *By a Society of Ladies: essays in “The female Tatler”* (Bristol, Thoemmes press, 1999).

47. This short quotation comes from the first of Hippocrates’ aphorisms, better known for its opening words, “*Ars longa, vita brevis*”. The full aphorism is as follows: “Life is short, the Art is long, occasion sudden, to make experiments dangerous, judgement difficult. Neither is it sufficient that the physician do his Office unless the patient, and his attendants, do their duty, and that externals are likewise well ordered.” C.J. Sprengell, M.D. (ed.) *The Aphorisms of Hippocrates and the Sentences of Celsus with Explanations and references to the most considerable Writers in Physick and Philosophy, Both Ancient and Modern* (London, R. Bonwick et al., 1708).

48. On the rejection of hypotheses in the formulation of a medical diagnosis, with a particular application to fevers, see Daniel Turner, *A Discourse concerning fevers in two letters to a young physician. The First dissuading from all hypotheses and theories, whether physical or mechanical, as vain and delusive. The second directing his regimen for the cure, and his conduct to the sick person. With some short but general remarks upon the pulse and urine, in the way of postscript. As also upon the crises and critical days in fevers* (London, John Clarke, 1727).
49. *Nobis invitis*: against our will.
50. See [Melchisedech Thévenot] *Relations de divers voyages curieux qui n'ont point été publiées, données par Melchisedech Thévenot* 5 vols. (Paris, Sébastien Cramoisy, 1666) vol. 3, "Description géographique de l'Empire de la Chine, par le Père Martin Martinius", p. 9. Thévenot's book was never translated into English, which seems to indicate that Mandeville had either an indirect knowledge of it or had read it in French. The text here referred to by Mandeville was originally written by Alvarez Semedo and published with Martino Martini's history of the conquest of China by the Tartars. It is given in a condensed version by Thévenot (and attributed to Martini) but was published in English earlier in the seventeenth century: *The History of the Great and Renowned Monarchy of China... by Alvarez Semedo* (London, John Crook, 1655) pp. 56–58.
51. The word "piss-prophet" still appeared, at the end of the century, in Francis Grose's *Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* (1785): "A Physician who judges of the diseases of his patients solely by the inspection of their urine." Mandeville is certainly alluding here to Thomas Brian, *The Piss-Prophet, or certain Pisse-pot Lectures. Wherein are newly discovered the old fallacies, Deceit, and juggling of the Pisse-pot Science, used by all those (whether Quacks and Empiricks, or other Methodicall Physicians) who pretend Knowledge of Diseases, by the Urine, in giving Judgement of the same* (London, R. Thrale, 1637). See also, *The Quack's Academy or the Dunces' Directory* (London, 1678): "You must either pretend to be Waterologers, or Ass-trologers, or Piss-prophets, or Starr-Wizards." Although Misomedon's naïve belief in this pseudo-science proves that he is still in need of Philopirio's guidance, Mandeville is not totally rejecting a category of medical observations that was however consistently linked to quackery.

Notes to the Second Dialogue

52. The school of Salerno was the most important centre of medical studies in medieval Europe. These two lines are taken from a XIIth or XIIIth century poem in Latin entitled "Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum". Dedicated to the King of England, it is a collection of dietary and hygienic principles allegedly written at the Salernitan School. The success of the book was such that it was

- translated into several European languages. For the English translation, see John Harrington's *The Englishmans Docter. Or, the Schoole of Salerne* (London, John Helme and John Busby Jr., 1607).
53. On the curative effect of wine, see Peter Shaw, *The Juice of the Grape, or Wine Preferable to Water* (London, Lewis, 1724). Mandeville was repeatedly accused of being paid by wine and liquor merchants for advertising the beneficial properties of spirits, although nothing supported these accusations. See what F. B. Kaye says about this in his introduction to the *Fable of the Bees* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1927). Mandeville was certainly a wine connoisseur and he added quite a long list of wines to his translation of the beginning of the second book of *Typhon*, which appears in *Wishes to a Godson* (London, J. Baker, 1712): Champain, Cahors, Pontack, Obrion, Murgou, Claret, Burgundy, Coutou, Mourin and vin d'Aie (see Kaye, "The Writings of Bernard Mandeville", note 23 p. 432).
 54. The chyle is a milky fluid formed in the small intestine during digestion and conveyed to the blood by the lymphatic vessels.
 55. For this lengthy passage on digestion added to the 1730 edition, Mandeville takes all his references on conflicting theories of digestion from a letter published in the *Philosophical transactions*, a part of which he reproduces here *verbatim* without indicating his source: "A Discourse concerning Digestion in a Letter to the Publisher from Mr. Charles Leigh of Brasen-Nose Colledge Oxford" The Royal Society, *Philosophical Transactions* (1684), vol. 14, pp. 694–698.
 56. Misomedon's knowledgeable remark on Boyle is also taken from Leigh's letter published in the *Philosophical Transactions* (*vide supra*). Boyle wrote on the subject of digestion in several texts, but he more specifically describes an experiment he designed to demonstrate that an acid liquor was involved in dissolving meat in the stomach in "The Usefulness of Natural Philosophy", Part II, sect. 1 "The Usefulness of Physic" in *The Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle*, 6 vols., new edition (London, W. Johnston et al., 1772) vol. 2, p. 72. For further reading on the subject see Mary Boas, *Robert Boyle and Seventeenth-century Chemistry* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1958).
 57. Mandeville was no doubt acquainted with the following presentation, also published in 1684, which immediately followed Leigh's letter on digestion: "An Abstract of a Journal of the Philosophical Society of Oxford, being an Account of Some Experiments Relating to Digestion Read before That Society, and of a Large Bed of Glands Observ'd in the Stomach of a Jack." The Royal Society, *Philosophical Transactions* (1684), vol. 14, pp. 699–701.
 58. Leeuwenhoek discusses his theory of digestion in several letters that were unpublished when Mandeville wrote the *Treatise*: letter 82 [43] of 5 January 1685 and letter 88 [47] of 12 October 1685. Both are in volume 5 of *The Collected Letters of Antoni Van Leeuwenhoek* (London, Francis Taylor, 2014), pp. 17–21, 65, 311–319, and 325–327. See also A. Schierbeek, *Measuring the Invisible World. The Life and works of Antoni van Leeuwenhoek* (New York,

- Abelard-Schuman, 1959). The text mentioned in the *Treatise* is from a letter to Oldenburg (Letter 79 [40] of 28 December 1683, *Collected Letters*, vol. 4, pp. 181–205). Philopirio and Misomedon know about it because it was published as “An Abstract of a Letter from Mr. Anthony Leeuwenhoeck of Delft about generation by an Animalcule of the Male seed. Animals in the seed of a Frog. Some other Observables in the parts of a Frog. Digestion, and the motion of the blood in a Feavor.” *Philosophical Transactions*, 1 Jan. 1683, vol. 13, n° 143–154, pp. 347–355 (esp. p. 353).
59. Lævin Fischerus, *De Affectu Hypochondriaco* (Brunswick, 1624).
 60. The agaricus (agarick) is a mushroom that was used in pharmaceutical preparations such as theriaca; the turpeth (turbith) is the root of a vine (*Operculina turpethum*) used for its purgative properties; the hermodactyl is also a root used as a cathartic and in the treatment of the gout. The colloquint (*colloquintida*) was also used as a powerful laxative in cases for which the agaricus and the turpeth had proved ineffectual.
 61. Nathaniel Highmore, *De Passione Hysterica et Affectione Hypochondriaca* (Oxford, A. Liechfield and R. Davis, 1660).
 62. The comparison between the human body and the alembic was already used by Arab writers and became common in the medical literature of the XVIth and XVIIth Centuries (see Paracelsus). For more on this subject see Claudie Voisenat, “feux d’entrailles. Alcool, corps-alembic et combustions spontanées”, *Terrain. Revue d’ethnologie de l’Europe*, Le Feu, n° 19 (1992), pp. 17–38.
 63. Thomas Willis, *A Medical-Philosophical Discourse of Fermentation or of the Intestine Motion of Particles in Everybody* (London, T. Dring, 1681), pp. 14–16. The first Latin edition Misomedon speaks of was published in London in 1659.
 64. (1711) “The admirable Willis is here as he is every where full of wit; his Speculations are as Sublime, as imagination can carry them, and the contrivances of all he supposes are most ingenious.”
 65. Mandeville certainly alludes to a short poem by the Earl of Rochester (1645–1685) entitled “The Maidenhead”. They shared the same publisher, Jacob Tonson (see *The Works of the Earls of Rochester, Roscommon and Dorset*, 2 vols (London, 1757), vol. 1, p. 71.

“Have you not in a Chimney seen
 A sullen Faggot wet and green,
 How coolly it receives the Heat,
 And at both Ends does fume and sweat?
 So fare it with the harmless Maid,
 When first upon her back she’s laid;
 But the well-experienc’d Dame,
 Cracks and rejoices in the Flame.”

Rather interestingly, La Fontaine (an author Mandeville was very familiar with since he had translated some of his fables) uses the same image of the green wood in his “Poème du Quinquina”, where he describes the disorders caused to the animal spirits by fever:

“Le bois vert, plein d’humeurs, est long à s’allumer;
Quand il brûle, l’ardeur en est plus véhémente.”

(Green wood, full of humours, takes longer to kindle; When it burns, it is more ardent and vehement)

66. This remark by Philopirio echoes a famous anecdote concerning Sydenham, who reportedly said to Hans Sloane, who had proudly handed him a letter of introduction presenting himself as a “skillful anatomist”: “As for anatomy, my butcher can dissect a joint full and well. No, young man; all this is stuff. You must go to the bed-side: it is there alone you can learn disease.” See William Wadd, *Mems., Maxims, and Memories* (London, Callow and Wilson, 1827), p. 231. Mandeville also used it in *The Fable of the Bees, Part II* with respect to our knowledge of the economy of the brain: (Cleom: “The most consummate Anatomist knows no more of it than a Butcher’s Prentice”, Fourth Dialogue, Kaye (ed.), vol. 2, p. 165.
67. There is no trace of the popular song mentioned by Mandeville. He may have heard it while in Paris, but the sentence itself was a very common proverb at the end of the seventeenth century. Mandeville may as well have found it in Antoine Furetière’s *Dictionnaire universel*, 3 vols. (The Hague and Rotterdam, Arnout and Reinier Leers, 1690), vol. 2, p. 5: “On dit qu’il y a bien de la différence entre une femme & un fagot, en parlant de deux choses fort dissemblables.”
68. For alchemists, the *Caput mortuum*, also called *nigredo*, was the useless residue of the sublimation process.
69. *Dr. Willis’ Practice of Physick being the whole works of the renowned and famous physician wherein most of the diseases belonging to the body of man are treated of, with excellent methods and receipts for the cure of the same.* (London, T. Dring, 1681) chap. XI. “Of the Distempers commonly called Hypochondriack,” p. 83.
70. The *parenchyma* is the constitutive tissue of an organ.
71. *Fæculencies* are impurities contained in any liquid (for example in wine) but more particularly in blood.
72. Michael Ettmuller wrote his medical dissertation on *Chirurgia Infusoria* (he defended his doctoral thesis in October 1668 in Leipzig, where it was printed in Latin by Nicolas Scipio. The work was never translated into English but was also available in French: *Nouvelle pratique de chirurgie, médicale et raisonnée avec divers remèdes, et une Dissertation sur l’infusion des liqueurs dans les vaisseaux* (Lyon, Amaulry, 1690), pp. 371–518). Ettmuller wondered how to apply remedies directly to the diseased organ whenever the patient could not ingest them. If diseases could enter the body not only by the mouth but also by many other routes, so, probably, could remedies. The newly invented method of “infusion” as described by Ettmuller consisted in injecting the cure through the veins. The method was first experimented in 1657 by Christopher Wren, who performed intravenous injections of various substances on dogs (see “An Account of the Rise and Attempts, of a Way to convey Liquors immediately into the Mass of the Blood,” *Philosophical Transactions*, 1665, vol. 1, n° 1–2, pp. 128–130). It was performed for the first

time on a man (injected with opium) by Johann Daniel Major (1634–1693), who published a treatise on this experiment in Leipzig only four years before Ettmuller completed his doctoral dissertation: *Prodromus à se inventæ Chirurgiæ infusoriæ, sive, quô pacto Agonizantes quidam, pro deploratis habiti, servari aliquandiu possint, infuse in venum sectam liquore peculiari* (Leipzig, Wittigau, 1664).

73. Thomas Willis, *Medical-Philosophical Discourse on Fermentation*, p. 15.

74. Mandeville gives an erroneous version of these two lines from Samuel Butler's poem *Hudibras*;

"More peevish, cross, and splenetick
Than dog distract, or monkey sick"

Samuel Butler, *Hudibras, written in the Time of the Late Wars*. 3 vols. (1663; London, John Baker, 1710) Canto I, p. 11.

75. Mandeville, apparently rather pleased with this witty comparison, recycled it in the preface to the second part of *The Fable of the Bees*: "Persons of Taste, and the least delicacy, can be but little affected with a man's Modesty, of whom they are sure, that he is wholly void of Pride within: The Absence of the one makes the Virtue of the other cease; at least the Merit of it is not greater than that of Chastity in an Eunuch, or Humility in a Beggar." (F.B. Kaye (ed.), vol. 2, p. 7)

76. Mandeville takes up the widely held belief that unbridled sexual activity inevitably led to the general weakening of the whole body, especially for men since semen was not thought to be a renewable substance. He also expressed his concern about the physical consequences of excessive carnal pleasures in *A Modest Defence of Publick Stews*, in which he linked the depopulation of nations to the sexual practices of younger men, who could become sterile or would only produce sickly children that were prone to an early death. See Phil-Porney (one of Mandeville's pseudonyms), *A Modest defence of Publick Stews* (London, A. Moore, 1725), especially pp. 16–17, 19, and 22.

77. *Schirrous* or *scirrhus* (from the Greek *skirrhos*: gypsum): hardened or indurated because of a calcification or of the excessive production of connective tissue.

78. The exact references are: *Philosophical transactions of the Royal Society*, 1685, vol. 14, n°173, pp. 1067–1068: "*Phænomena in Cadavere prænobilis Fæminæ, Apoplexia peremptæ, inter dissecandum maii 12, 1679, Observata à Clariss. Dno. Gui. Cole, M. D.*" The article was probably written by William Cole (1622–1701), one of Sydenham's correspondents. For the second one: *Philosophical transactions of the Royal Society*, 1691, vol. 17, n°194, pp. 543–544: "*Observationes aliquot rariores de Morboso Liene a Spectatissimo Domino D. Nehemia Grew, M. D. ac R. S. Socio cum ædem Societate communicatæ.*"

79. The treatise here mentioned is John Purcell's: *A Treatise on Vapours and Hysterick Fits, Containing an analytical proof of its causes, mechanical explanations of all its symptoms and accidents, according to the newest and most*

- rational principles; together with its cure at large* (London, Nicholas Cox, 1702).
80. Mandeville, like Purcell, uses the term “crudities” which derives from the Latin *cruditas* and means indigestion. In the eighteenth century, the *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française* indicated that the French *crudité* “is still used to mean indigestion, and for the crude humours generated by the stomach... The expression ‘crudities of the humours’ is used to express the bad quality of the undigested humours.” (my translation).
 81. See Purcell, *Treatise on Vapours*, p. 18.
 82. Mandeville is here again alluding to Descartes. In his *Traité sur l’homme*, René Descartes compares the human body to a machine: “Et véritablement, l’on peut fort bien comparer les nerfs de la machine que je vous décris, aux tuyaux des machines de ces fontaines; ses muscles et ses tendons, aux autres divers engins et ressorts qui servent à les mouvoir; ses esprits animaux, à l’eau qui les remue, dont le cœur est la source, et les concavités du cerveau les regards.” (*Traité de l’homme*, Paris, Clerselier, 1664; Gallimard, 1953, p. 814.) For further readings on Descartes’ machines see for example, Betty Powell, B. “Descartes’ Machines” *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, 71, new series (1970), pp. 209–222; Dennis Des Chene, *Spirits and Clocks: Machine and Organism in Descartes* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2001).
 83. Purcell uses several times the expression “angle of incidence” without clearly explaining its meaning in a physiological context. He uses it more particularly to explain sighs: “But whilst the patients thus return to their natural state, it is observable that they give a great sigh; which is occasioned by the oppression, which some stagnation of the blood remaining in the lungs, causes there; which makes spirits flow from thence to the brain, and induce a troublesome, uneasie sensation; thence by the angle of incidence, or the proximity of the origin of those nerves, they flow in greater quantity into the muscles, which serve for the inspiration, whose contraction is thereby rendered more violent, and lasts longer.” *Treatise on Vapours*, p. 63.
 84. Purcell, *Treatise on Vapours*, p. 49.
 85. (1711) “Astrologers.”
 86. Mandeville takes this digression on the hypotheses of astronomers directly from Baglivi’s *Practice of Physick* (London, Andrew Bell et al., 1704), pp. 147–148.
 87. On Descartes in the Netherlands see for example: Willem Frijhoff and Marijke Spies, *Dutch Culture in a European Perspective*, vol. 1 (Assen, Royal Van Gorcum, 2004), chapter 5, pp. 281–319; Klass van Berkel, Albert van helden and Lodewijk Palm (eds.), *A History of Science in The Netherlands* (Leiden, Brill, 1999). See also note 89.
 88. (1711) “Paradise.”
 89. In the early 1630s, Descartes matriculated at the University of Leiden as a student of mathematics. But it is more than a decade later, in the wake of the quarrel of Utrecht (between Regius, who sided with Descartes, and Voetius, the champion of orthodoxy), that Cartesian philosophy began to be discussed

at Leiden among professors and students. Among others, Jacobus Revius (an orthodox theologian) and Jacobus Trigland (also a professor at the school of divinity) accused Descartes of entertaining atheist ideas and opposed his method of doubt. In 1647, Descartes complained about the violence of the attacks in a letter to the *Curatores* of the university, who reacted by banning any discussion of Cartesian theories during lessons and disputations. They also ruled that even the name of Descartes could not be uttered in public. Descartes' substantial dualism (in which the body and the soul are two distinct substances of a radically different nature, the soul alone being able to think—*res cogitans*—as opposed to matter) departed from the Aristotelian idea (defended by Aristotle in his *De Anima*) that the soul was the essence of all living things and that it was not distinct from the body. The decision of the *Curatores* did not put an end to the academic agitation, and at the end of 1647 Adam Steuart, one of the many Scots who taught Aristotelian philosophy in continental Europe, triggered a new quarrel with Adriaan Heereboord, who held the chair of philosophy at Leiden and was the most ardent champion of Cartesianism there. A former student of theology himself, Heereboord argued that philosophy should not interfere in theology and that theology had no role to play in philosophical discussions. The debate over Cartesianism and Aristotelism was not only theological. It also opposed the defenders of traditional scholasticism and the proponents of pedagogical innovation. The quarrel soon divided the student body up to the point that in February of the following year, a disputation ended with a proper fistfight. The States of Holland and West Friesland issued an edict forbidding any disruption in the lecture halls, but the quarrel continued for many years and was revived at the end of the 1670s by the conservative Senguerdius and his colleague Buchard de Volder, a former student of de le Boë and an admirer of the discoveries of Robert Boyle. By the time Mandeville enrolled as a student at Leiden, the quarrel had died out, although the philosophical questions it had raised were still very much discussed. For further reading: Edward G. Ruestow, *Physics at 17th and 18th-Century Leiden* (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1973); Theo Verbeek, *Descartes and the Dutch: Early Reactions to Cartesian Philosophy, 1637–1650* (Carbondale, Southern Illinois University Press, 1992); Craig Martin, *Subverting Aristotle. Religion, History, and Philosophy in Early Modern Science* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014). See also note 106; Dennis Des Chene, *Life's Form: Late Aristotelian Conceptions of the Soul* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2000); Dennis Des Chene, *Physiologia: Natural Philosophy in Late Aristotelian and Cartesian Thought* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2000).

On the quarrel between the High-Church Tories and the Low-Church dissenters in the early eighteenth century, see for example: John Walsh, Colin Haydon and Stephen Taylor (eds.), *The Church of England c. 1689–c. 1833. From Toleration to Tractarianism* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993). The quarrel ended up with the trial of High-Church Anglican Henri Satcheverell, who had preached two violent sermons against the Whigs. His

- trial led to a period of social and political unrest marked by riots (the Sacheverell riots in 1710, the Coronation riots of 1714, and the Rebellion riots of 1715) and by a series of attacks on Presbyterian chapels and meeting houses. For more on these riots, see Robert B. Shoemaker, *The London Mob. Violence and Disorder in Eighteenth-Century England* (London, Hambledon and London, 2004).
90. The Chelsea College, in London, was founded by Matthew Sutcliffe in 1608. It was originally meant to become the spearhead of anti-catholicism, gathering in its library all the polemical texts on that religion. After the death of its founder, the college declined and the buildings themselves were turned into a prison. They were finally given to the Royal Society and later housed an annexe of Chelsea Hospital.
 91. Four medical sects emerged after the death of Hippocrates, each representing a different philosophical trend and a different conception of the practice of medicine. These sects were the Dogmatists, the Empiricists, the Methodists and the Pneumatists. For the Dogmatists, the symptoms of the disease were the key to its hidden causes. For the Empiricists, the dogmatic stance laid too much emphasis on theory, based on a far too small number of observations. They advertised a close observation of the patient and a removal of the symptoms; they did not believe the hidden cause of diseases could be discovered. The Methodists offered a view of medical practice that reconciled the dogmatic and the empiric conceptions. They aimed at relieving the symptoms and rested their practice on the idea that the pores of the body were responsible for the disease. The Pneumatists believed that the quality of the “vital air” breathed by patients determined the inner imbalance that caused diseases. For more on this subject see Paul Carrick, *Medical Ethics in the Ancient World* (Washington, D.C., Georgetown University Press, 2001), pp. 40–41; Ian Maclean, *Logic, Signs and Nature in the Renaissance: The Case of Learned Medicine* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 76ff. In seventeenth-century England the lasting influence of these ancient sects expressed itself in the hostilities between the College of Physicians and the Royal Society. See Harold J. Cook, *The Decline of the Old Medical Regime in Stuart London* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1986).
 92. “Jesuits’ bark” also known as “Peruvian bark,” “Jesuit’s Powder,” or “the Devil’s bark” was an antipyretic remedy derived from the cinchona tree, discovered by a Jesuit missionary named Bernabé Cobo and introduced in Europe around 1665. Because it was very costly, what was actually sold by some apothecaries was very often the bark of the cherry tree dipped in aloes to imitate the natural bitterness of the original, imported product. For more detail on the Jesuits’ bark, see Kenneth Dewhurst, *Dr. Thomas Sydenham (1624–1689): His Life and Original Writings* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1966), pp. 41–42.
 93. (1711) “Disputation”.
 94. *Utriusque juris*: a doctoral degree in both civil and canon law.

95. In Dutch universities, the two “paranymphs” were (and still are) the attendants of the doctoral candidate while he defended his thesis. Their name also referred to the bridesmaid and best man in ancient Greek weddings, implying that the successful student was to be “married” to his university.
96. The thesis mentioned by Misomedon, *De Codicillis*, was presented by Johannes Hudde (1628–1704). A mathematician and a law specialist, he was also burgomaster of Amsterdam between 1672 and 1703.
97. Just like Philopirio, Mandeville studied Medicine at Leiden and wrote the dissertation on digestion he attributes to his character: *Disputatio medica inauguralis de Chylosi vitiate* (Leiden, Abraham Elzevier, 1691). He defended the idea that digestion was carried out by fermentation and not by heat. Wolfgang Senguerd (1646–1724) was professor of natural philosophy at Leiden.
98. Nicolaas Tulp was four times mayor of Amsterdam, and as such suggested that apothecaries be placed under the control of the municipal authorities, a measure Mandeville would certainly have approved of. See Nicolai Tulp, *Observationes Medicæ* (Amsterdam, Danielem Elzevierium, 1641). Tulp was also portrayed by Rembrandt in a famous oil painting (*The anatomy lesson of Dr. Nicholaes Tulp*, 1632) now in the Mauritshuis in The Hague.
99. The anecdote comes from Felix Platter, *Observationes Medicæ* (Basel, 1614).
100. This lengthy discussion echoes conflicting theories on the physiological nature of nerves. Philopirio seems to follow Harvey and Descartes, who thought the nerves were hollow, while Misomedon sides with those who, like Vesalus or Willis, believed they were made of the same substance as marrow. For more on the subject see George S. Rousseau, *Essays on Literature, Culture and Sensibility* (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Harry Whitaker, C.U.M. Smith and Stanley Finger, *Brain, Mind and Medicine. Neuroscience in the 18th Century* (Dordrecht, Springer, 2007); James P.B. O’Connor, “Thomas Willis and the background to *Cerebri Anatome*,” *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, vol. 96, 3 (March 2003), pp. 139–143; Thomas Willis, *Cerebri Anatomy* (London, Flesher, 1664).
101. See note 58.
102. See Sir Thomas Brown, *Pseudodoxia epidemica: or, Enquiries into very many received tenents, and commonly presumed truths*. (London, printed by Tho. Harper for Edward Dod, 1646) Bk. III, chap. 22 « That the Ostrich digesteth Iron », pp. 163–166.
103. On the animal spirits (and the soul) see notes 21 and 107.
Robert Hooke, curator of experiments for the Royal Society, described his observation of sand grains in *Micrographia, or Some Physiological descriptions of Minute Bodies made by Magnifying Glasses* (London, J. Martyn, 1665). For more on Hooke, see Allan Chapman, *England’s Leonardo. Robert Hooke and the Seventeenth-Century Scientific Revolution* (Bristol, Institute of Physics, 2005); Ellen T. Drake, *Restless Genius: Robert Hooke and his Earthly Thoughts* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996); Michael Cooper and

Michael Hunter (eds.), *Robert Hooke: Tercentennial Studies* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2006). See also note 121.

104. (1711) "...it is utterly incomprehensible, and would be contrary to human Reason, that when the Body is dead Thought should remain, if from the Principles of Religion we were not assured of the Soul's Immortality."
105. (1711) "Immaterial being."
106. See *Fable of the Bees*, vol. 2, p. 171: "(Cleo.) You see then the Difference between Knowledge, as it signifies the Treasure of Images receiv'd, and Knowledge, or rather Skill, to find those Images when we want them, and work them readily to our Purpose." Mandeville is here taking up Aristotle's conception of memory and recollection (*De memoria et reminiscentia*). For more this see Pavel Gregoric, *Aristotle and the Common Sense* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007); David Bloch, *Aristotle on Memory and recollection. Text, Translation, Interpretation, and Reception in Western Scholasticism* (Leiden, Brill, 2007). For an interesting contemporary commentary on this particular sentence of the *Treatise*, see [George Bluett] *An Enquiry whether A General Practice of Virtue tends to the Wealth or Poverty, Benefit or Disadvantage of a People?* (London, printed for R. Wilkin, 1725) pp. 54–56. For more on the subject of memory and the animal spirits, see John Sutton, *Philosophy and Memory Traces. Descartes to Connectionism* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998).
107. See Mandeville's definition of consciousness in *The Fable of the Bees* (II, p. 175): "So that all we can know of this Consciousness is, that it consists in, or is the Result of, the running and rummaging of the Spirits through all the Mazes of the Brain, and their looking there for Facts concerning ourselves." Mandeville's long discussion on the role of the animal spirits in the functioning of thought owes much to Thomas Willis' disquisition on the same subject in *De Anima Brutorum* (Oxford, Davis, 1672). Despite Mandeville's amused comments upon Willis' excessive use of metaphors, he retained his image of the body and the brain as a labyrinth through which the animal spirits roam in search of images and memories: "Further, as the Animal Spirits, for divers uses of the Animal Faculties, ought to obtain Tendencies or Stretchings-forth of a divers sort, within their distinct and peculiar passages, either Medullary part being wonderfully Divaricated, is cut every where into Various tracts of Labyrinths, as it were so many Conclaves and Chambers; all which Medullary tracts, the Cortical part every where lies between and fortifies; From these, as it were Primary Palaces of the Soul, the Oblong and Spinal Marrow, like spacious Courts are stretched forth, which also are furnished, by reason of the Medullary substances variously lying between, with many Porticoes and Walks, planted here and there, for the necessary works of the Animal Function: From these Marrows, the Nerves arising, are carried to the several parts of the whole Body, as it were so many distinct paths; then from these many other small Shoots or nervous Fibres, being on every side sent forth, as it were so many smaller or lesser Paths, are almost innumerable; at the ends of which,

others secondary Fibres, Membranaceous and Musculous, are disposed, though thick Series, as it were so many martial Fields, in every one of which is placed a Maniple or Band of Spirits. In this most ample and highly intricate Labyrinth of Cloysters, and Animal passages, the Medullar or Nervous Processes, how small soever, being most thickly set, variously implicating one another, and ordinarily cutting cross one another, yet all of them distinct, and designed to certain offices, allways agree mutually between themselves, and intimately conspire together; So that every Impulse or Instinct, is carried from one end to another presently, yea, from every part to all the rest, sooner than in the twink of an eye.” Thomas Willis, *Two Discourses Concerning the Soul of Brutes, which is that of the Vital and Sensitive of Man*, trans. S. Pordage (London, Thomas Dring, 1683), p. 23.

On the metaphors of the mind, see Brad Pasanek, *Metaphors of Mind. An Eighteenth-Century Dictionary* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015).

108. (1711) “... which seem to have first been, as it were, dipt into the Fancy...”
109. *Cæteris paribus*: “all other things being equal”.
110. Mandeville paraphrases Sydenham: “for I should fain know why a Horse comes to his growth in Seven Years, and a Man at Twenty One; why some Plants flower in *May*, and some in *June*, to say nothing of other Things.” in *The Whole Works of that Excellent Practical Physician, Dr. Thomas Sydenham*, third ed. (London, printed for R. Wellington, 1701), chap. V, p. 37.
111. See Thomas Sydenham, *The Practice of Physick*, 3rd enlarged edition, trans. William Salmon (London, J. Knapton and W. Innys, 1716), esp. pp. 129–195, 393–476.
112. Mandeville also raises the question of the usefulness of mathematical knowledge in medicine in *The Fable of the Bees, Part II*: “(Cleo.) But the Pretence to Mathematicks, or the Usefulness of it in the Cure of the Diseases, is a Cheat, and as errant a Piece of Quackery as a Stage and a *Merry Andrew*.” See the Fourth Dialogue, Kaye (ed.), vol. 2, pp. 161–162. Archibald Pitcairn, who was studying at Leiden when Mandeville returned to present his dissertation, was one of the most active proponents of the use of mathematics in medical practice: see Anita Guerrini “Archibald Pitcairn and Newtonian Medicine,” *Medical History* 31 (1987) pp. 70–83. On anti-mathematicism, see also Charles T. Wolfe, “Vital anti-mathematicism and the ontology of the emerging life sciences: from Mandeville to Diderot”, *Synthese* 2017, DOI [10.1007/s11229-017-1350-y](https://doi.org/10.1007/s11229-017-1350-y).
113. Isaac Newton, *Analysis per Quantitatum Series, Fluxiones, ac Differentias: cum enumeratione linearum tertii ordinis* (London, Ex Officina Pearsoniana, 1711). The first English translation was published in 1736.
114. Mandeville is here alluding to John Essex (d.1744), a contemporary British dancer and choreographer. Not much is known of John Essex’s earlier life, except that he started his career as a professional dancer at the Drury Lane Theatre around 1702. Following a quarrel with the theatre’s manager, he established himself in the City as a dancing-master. In 1706 he translated

Raoul Feuillet's *Recueil de contredanses* (1706), and published a treatise on the notation of country dances in 1710. In 1722, he published his second book, *The Young ladies Conduct, or, Rules for Education*, a treatise on female education apparently much inspired by the English translation of Fénelon's *Télémaque*. He is supposed to appear in one of Hogarth's paintings from *The Rake's Progress*, and is also mentioned in Henry Fielding's *Tom Jones* (Book xiv, chap. 1.): "For instance, let us suppose that Homer and Virgil, Aristotle and Cicero, Thucydides and Livy, could have met all together, and have clubbed their several talents to have composed a treatise on the art of dancing: I believe it will be readily agreed they could not have equalled the excellent treatise which Mr Essex hath given us on that subject, entitled, *The Rudiments of Genteel Education*." Source: Moira Goff, 'Essex, John (d. 1744)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008.

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/janus.biu.sorbonne.fr/view/article/61905>, accessed 23 Feb 2016

115. Mandeville's conspicuous use of this Dutch word hints at a Dutch mathematical treatise by Abraham de Graaf, *De Geheele Mathesis of Wiskonst* (Amsterdam, Joacobus de Veer for Jan ten Hoorn, 1694. De Graaf (1635–1713), a linen weaver, became the most reputed mathematics teacher in Amsterdam. For more on mathematics in the Low-Countries, see Rens Bod, Jaap Maat and Thijs Weststeijn (eds.), *The Making of the Humanities*, vol. II "From Early Modern to Modern Disciplines" (Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2012), esp. pp. 84–87; Harold J. Cook and Sven Dupré (eds.), *Go-Betweens, Translations and the Circulation of Knowledge in the Early Modern Low Countries* (Berlin, LIT Verlag, 2012). For further reading on early-modern mathematics, see Paolo Mancosu, *Philosophy of Mathematics and Mathematical Practice in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, Oxford, University Press, 1999).
116. Mandeville is referring to two articles written by William Cockburn (1669–1739), who was Jonathan Swift's physician when he was in London and who invented an electuary against diarrhoea for which he was accused of being a quack. The first article was written in Latin and published in 1704 with the additional signature of Edward Southwell: "Guglielmi Cockburni M. D. solutio problematis de purgantium et emeticorum medicamentorum dosibus determinandis in quacunque homini ætate, temperamento, temperamentum varietate per universum terrarum orbem." *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, 1704, n° 24, pp. 2119–2122. The second was published in English four years later: "The Practice of purging and vomiting medicines according to Dr Cockburn's solution of his problem; with tables showing their doses in particular ages and constitutions." *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, 1708, n° 26, pp. 46–52.

For more on medicines and dosage, see Daniel Tauvry, *A Treatise of Medicines: containing an account of their chymical principles... Together with a short view of the nature and periods of the diseases... The medicines are rang'd in*

their proper classes according to their virtues, and drawn up in tables for the readers conveniency, with their just doses annex'd, translated from the French (London, printed for Richard Wellington et al., 1700).

117. Humorous anecdotes on relics were a staple of the anti-Catholic literature that, following Calvin's *Traité des reliques* (1543), railed against the absurd multiplication of spurious relics in French and Roman churches. This particular one is not listed by Calvin, but a relic from Joseph is mentioned by Agrippa d'Aubigné in his *Confession catholique du Sieur de Sancy* (p. 35 of the undated French edition), not as an exclamative sound but as a hatchet: "Une hache de Saint Joseph fendant une bûche... & un esternuement du S. Esprit" (the English translation of 1686 is faithful to the original: "The Hatchet of Joseph the Carpenter... and the sneezings of the Holy Ghost", *The Catholick Confession of Monsieur de Sancy* (London, Job King, 1686), p. 49). Aubigné may have mistaken the sound (han!) for a more plausible word, but the anecdote went down as an exclamative sound. It appears as such in Solomon Lowe's *The Protestant Family Piece; or picture of Popery* (London, E. Matthews, 1716): "For who can imagin how they could catch, or keep, *St Peter's Shadow*; or bottle up *Joseph's Hough*, his toylsom breathing, when he was at his Carpenter's work?" (p. 107). Lowe also indicates that the relic is "Honor'd and Worship'd... near Blois in France". See also Jacques Collin de Plancy, *Dictionnaire Critique des Reliques et des Images Miraculeuses* (Paris, Guien et C^{ie}, 1821): "Mais une relique plus curieuse, c'est le fameux *han* de saint Joseph fendant une bûche. On entend par un *han*, le son qui sort de la poitrine d'un homme qui se donne quelque peine à fendre du bois. Il en sort communément un à chaque coup de hache. On gardait un des *hans* de saint Joseph, en bouteille, à Courchiverny près de la ville de Blois." (vol. 2, p. 83).
118. I have not been able to find the origin of this aphoristic simile, which most probably comes from classic Latin literature. John Sullivan kindly brought to my attention the fact that it appears in seventeenth-century Biblical commentaries (in William Greenhill's "Exposition of the Prophet Ezechiel" (1645), or Thomas Adams' "exposition Upon the Divine second Epistle" (1633), both commenting passages about riches). It also appears ("Commentators, like false Friends, leave us when we have most occasion for them.") in the third edition of a very popular textbook of English sentences designed for students of Latin grammar: William Willymott, *Particles Exemplified in English Sentences*, 3rd ed. (London, printed for W. Innys and R. Manby, 1734), p. 150. All these occurrences seem to confirm a classical source which remains to be determined. By attributing it to "a gentleman I knew formerly," Mandeville probably intended it as a riddle for his erudite readers and patients.
119. Jalap resin is, like turpeth, made with the root of a variety of ipomea growing in Central-America.
120. The "sixth pair" is the ocular motor nerve. Thomas Willis was the first to ascribe numbers to cranial nerves.
121. The words of Misomedon evoke the period of extraordinary scientific inventions the two characters are supposed to have witnessed. Antony Van

Leeuwenhoek (1632–1723) was among the first scientists to make use of a real microscope, with lenses he had developed himself. He seems to have been inspired by Robert Hooke's (1635–1703, a former assistant to both Willis and Boyle) *Micrographia*. His contemporaries, Nehemiah Grew (1641–1712), Marcello Malpighi (1628–1694), and Jan Swammerdam (1637–1680), formed a group of microbiologists who worked on anatomy and botany. All had studied medicine, and all of them (except Swammerdam) had ties with the Royal Society. See Robert Hooke, *Micrographia, or some Physiological Descriptions of Minute Bodies made by Magnifying Glasses with Observations and Inquiries thereupon* (London, J. Martyn and J. Allestry, printers to the Royal Society, 1665); Michael Cooper and Michael Hunter (ed.), *Robert Hooke, Tercentennial Studies* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2006). Newton also experimented with lenses and prisms, challenging Descartes' own works on refraction (*Dioptrique* and *Météores*, both 1637). See David Gooding, Trevor Pinch, and Simon Schaffer (ed.), *The Uses of experiment. Studies in the natural sciences* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989); Marie Boas Hall, *Promoting Experimental Learning. Experiment and the Royal Society, 1660–1727* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991). The air-pump is the machine (also known as *machina Boyleana*) designed by Robert Boyle in 1659 after the model invented by Otto von Guericke, to begin his experiments on the properties of air. See Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air-Pump, Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1985). But Misomedon also hints at what Hooke deplored as early as 1692: the fact that these brilliant inventions had become mere “diversion and pastime” instead of becoming recognised instruments of scientific discoveries. As John Henry points out, the discoveries enabled by the microscope had done nothing to improve the diagnoses of the medical practitioners, and some physicians such as Thomas Sydenham and John Locke even rejected its use. See John Henry, *The Scientific Revolution and the Origins of Modern Science*, third ed. (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Marian Fournier, *The Fabric of Life: Microscopy in the Seventeenth Century* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996); Philippe Hamou, *La Mutation du visible. Essai sur la portée épistémologique des instruments d'optique au XVIIe siècle*, 2 vols. (Lille, Presses du Septentrion, 1999–2001), esp. volume 2 “Microscope et télescopes de Bacon à Hooke”.

122. This short section does not appear in the 1730 edition.

123. This section does not appear in the 1730 edition.

124. In the 1711 edition, this sentence was attributed to Philopirio and not to his patient. Mandeville also used this quotation in *The Fable of the Bees*, part II: “The Fourth Dialogue between Horatio and Cleomenes.” (Kaye (ed.), vol. 2, p. 182.

125. *Lienteria* is a severe diarrhea.

126. The translation offered by Mandeville insists upon what Morton says of the spirits, but the subject of his book is ague, or acute fever. See Richard Morton, *Pyretologia: seu exercitationes de morbis universalibus acutis* (London, Samuel Smith, 1692).

127. This passage and the following remarks concerning the effects of large books on the stomachs of the learned were actually taken from a dissertation presented to Ettmüller on April 14, 1676 by Christopher Troppanniger at the university of Leipzig, and entitled *De Malo hypochondriaco* (Leipzig, Nicolai Scipionis, 1684). It is reproduced in Michael Ettmüller, *Opera Omnia*, 2 t. in 3 vols. (Francofurti ad Moenum, J. D. Zunnerus, 1696–1697), 1688) t. II, part II, disputatio XV, p. 773.
128. C. Kirkby, “A Relation from Dantzick of an Uncommon Case in Physick,” *Philosophical Transactions*, 1673, vol. 8, n°96, p. 6092.
129. *Lypothymy*: a temporary collapse, generally triggered by an emotionnal shock.

Notes to the Third Dialogue

130. Mandeville gives a much-altered version of an anecdote taken from Giorgio Vasari’s *Lives* (1550). The original anecdote was as follows: “And he, much encouraged, took a piece of marble, after having been there but a few days, and set himself to copy the head of an old Faun from the antique. The nose of the original was much injured, the mouth was represented laughing, and this Michelangelo, who had never before touched the chisel or marble, did in fact a copy in such a manner that the Magnifico was utterly amazed. Lorenzo, furthermore, perceived that the youth had departed to a certain extent from the original, having opened the mouth according to his own fancy, so that the tongue and all the teeth were in view. He then remarked in a jesting manner to the boy, ‘Thou shouldst have remembered that old folks never retain all their teeth; some of them are always wanting.’ Michelangelo (...) no sooner saw his back turned than he broke out a tooth, filing the gum in such sort as to make it seem that the tooth had dropped out.” Giorgio Vasari, *The Lives of the most Excellent Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, trans. C. de Vere, ed. Philip Jacks (New York, The Modern Library, 2006) p. 345. For further reading, see Paul Barolsky, *Michelangelo’s Nose: A Myth and its Maker* (1990; University Park, Pa., Pennsylvania State UP, 1997). Jacob Tonson, one of Mandeville’s publishers, was then selling a book in which Mandeville may have read the anecdote: *Painting Illustrated in Three Dialogues, containing some choice observations upon the art. Together with the lives of the most eminent painters, from Cimabue, to the time of Raphael and Michael Angelo* (London, printed by John Gain, for the author [William Aglionby], and are to be sold by Walter Kettilby... And Jacob Tonson at the Judges-Head in Chancery Lane, 1686), see pp. 273–274.
131. See Thomas Willis, *Pharmaceutice Rationalis, or an Exercitation of the Operations of Medicines in Human Bodies* (London, T. Dring, 1679), section VII, chap. 1, “Of Opiate Medicines on Causing Sleep,” pp. 137–138. Willis relished the military metaphor, which he also used in his *Discourses Concerning the Soul of Brutes* (see note 107); see for example, page 24, “In

the Animal Government, altho the Spirits are disposed, as it were an Army spread abroad thorow the whole Field, yet we say, that they obtain Orders and Offices, one thing in this part, and something different in that.” See also page 56 “the Spirits contiguous one with another are set like an Army in Array; for they after a Military fashion, whil’st they move not from their station, and keep Order, perform their Offices; and whether they be set in Battel Array, or on the Watch, they perform the Commands carried outward from the Brain, themselves being almost immoveable, and effect Motion, and deliver presently to the Brain the news of any sensible thing impressed, whereby Sensation is made.”

132. The comparison between the “animal government” and the body politic is the subject of one of Æsop’s fables, later taken up by La Fontaine: “The Belly and the Members”. La Fontaine’s version of the fable was later translated by Mandeville (see the Introduction to this volume).
133. *Crisis*: a constitution. The word could also refer to the balance of humours in the body.
134. Recipe: The pulp of grapes (2 ounces), *arcanum duplicatum* of Mynsicht [potassium sulphate], sal ammoniac (2 scruples), bitter orange pips (half a drachm); mix with an adequate quantity of bitter electuary.
135. Recipe (take): Calomel (12 grains) [“calomel” is another name for chloride of mercury], diagridium (8 grains) [“diagridium” is purgative gum-resin extracted from the roots of scammony], Jalapa resin (6 grains) [Mirabilis Jalapa is a Peruvian flower], syrup of lenitive electuary; cook in sufficient quantity to make a pill.
136. Recipe: dried raisins (2 ounces), cook in a pound of water with the burnt residues of senna leaves (half a drachm) [senna is a powerful laxative], cream of tartar (one drachm), fennel seeds, crushed aniseeds (2 scruples each). Cook and add syrup of solutive rose and 2 ounces hellebore. Mix to make an apozem [a decoction].
137. Cornachine powder: a preparation made of powder of scammony, cream of tartar, and diaphoretic antimony. Royal powder: same ingredients as Cornachine powder with added mercury.
138. Recipe: Diagridium, cream of tartar, and salt in equal quantities (10 grains), mix into a powder to be taken with the vehicle of your choice.
139. Recipe: Stratham water (4 pounds), cook until half of it has evaporated and add ginger, caraway seeds (1 drachm each), *manna optima* [“manna” is the medical name given to the sap of some trees, the sap of ash tree was reputed to be the best] (1 ounce), strong cinnamon water, *sal mirabilis* [Mirabilite, a sodium sulphate mineral used as a purgative]; half an ounce each. Mix into an apozem.
140. Recipe: infusion of senna (4 ounces), elixir salutis [also known as Daffy’s elixir, a purgative later sold as a universal remedy. It was supposed to have been invented by a clergyman from Leicestershire in the seventeenth century], syrup of *spina cervina* [cathartic rhamnus, or buckthorn] (2 ounces each); mix and make a purgative potion.

141. Recipe: root of scammony, Jalapa (10 grains each), cream of tartar (2 scruples), salt of Jupiter [also known as muriat of tin, a combination of muriatic acid and tin] (4 grains), troches of Alhandal [a tablet made of colocynth and used as a purgative] (1 grain). Mix with a sufficient quantity of lenitive prunes and make a preparation to drink.
142. Recipe: Juniper and laurel berries (1 drachm each), fennel seeds, aniseeds, and caraway seeds (2 scruples each), senna leaves (2 drachms); cook in 12 ounces spring water and add syrup of solutive rose and cathartic rhamnus (half an ounce each). Make a potion.
143. *Carduus posset*: a hot drink made from a variety of thistle. *Helleborus albus*: white hellebore now known as *Veratrum album*. Although highly toxic, it was used as a purgative. *Asarum*: commonly known as wild ginger. Before the introduction of *Ipecacuana* (see below), its root was among the best emetic substances. *Oxymel scylliticum*: An oxymel is a mixture of honey and vinegar, the squill is a bulbous plant used as a diuretic and a cardiac stimulant. *Decoctum digitale*: a decoction of digitalis, used to reduce dropsy. *Ipecacuana*: a flowering plant from Latin America first introduced in Europe in the seventeenth century by a Parisian traveller named Legros. Its root was a powerful emetic. *Vitrum antimonii*: antimonial glass was a vitrified preparation of antimony made into a cup and also used as an emetic by giving its properties to the liquid it contained. *Sulphur auratum antimonii*: golden sulphur of antimony, thought to be a universal remedy it was often used as either a purgative or an emetic. *Regulus antimonii martialis*: the martial regulus of antimony was used as a diaphoretic, to encourage sweating. *Crocus metallorum*: a metallic preparation similar to antimonial glass and considered as a universal remedy; it derives its name from its reddish saffron-like colour. The OED also notes that the word “crocus” and even “crocus metallorum” became synonymous with quacks and was a nickname given to surgeons in the army and the navy. *Mercurius Vitæ*: also known as Algarot, or Antimony oxychloride, it was also used as a very powerful emetic.
144. The French Parliament forbade the medical use of antimony in 1566. The University of Montpellier, deeply influenced by the work of Arab alchemists, resisted the ban, which was finally lifted in 1666. According to some historians, Louis XIV having recovered from typhus thanks to antimonial wine at the age of twenty had insisted upon its legalisation.
145. Recipe: species diacumin (1 drachm), root of pyrethrum (1 scruple), distilled oil of cumin (3 drops); mix and turn into a powder. For three doses. [Species diacumin is a powder of cumin used as both an antihysteretic and a stomachic powder to improve appetite and digestion]
146. Recipe: Fruit mite (4 drachms), white pepper, Syrian spikenard, and ammonia (2 drachms each); crush and sift the dry elements, dissolve the ammonia and the powder in oxymel of squill, and form tablets of 1 drachm.
147. Recipe: root of marsh mallow and Saint John’s wort (2 ounces each), wormwood et ceterach [Rustyback] (1 ounce each), bark and root of the caper bush and of germander (1 ounce each), leaves of tamarisk, pennyroyal and lemon

- balm (1 minim each), linseed, fenugreek, aniseed (half an ounce each); cook in 6 pounds of Spanish beer and 2 pounds of vinegar. Make a decoction and use as a fomentation on the affected part at least twice a day.
148. Recipe: Gum of ammoniac, galbanum, and bdellium (2 drachms each), spermaceti (3 drachms), seeds of cumin and common rue (half an ounce each), naval pitch, yellow wax (a sufficient quantity of each). Dissolve the gums with vinegar and immediately make a plaster.
149. Recipe: White turmeric root (half an ounce), bark and root of black hellebore, caper bush and tamarisk (2 drachms each), the upper parts of absinthe and rustyback (3 drachms each), seeds of monk's pepper (half a drachm), chalybeate preparation [generally iron and muriatic acid] (6 drachms), flower of sal ammoniac (1 drachm). Mix with a sufficient quantity of absinthe syrup and make an electuary of 1 drachm to be taken twice a day with 4 ounces of ordinary wine.
150. Recipe: Iron filings (8 ounces), root of horse-heal (2 ounces), horseradish, and gentian (1 ounce each), winter's bark (6 drachm), cinnamon (half an ounce), mace (half a drachm), rustyback (2 minims), lesser calamint (1 minim) salt of tartar (half an ounce), French white wine (6 pounds). Leave to macerate for eight days.
151. Recipe: Leaves of absinthe (2 minims), centaury (1 minim), bark and root of black hellebore (2 ounces), oak fern, ash tree bark, and white tartar (half an ounce each), iron filings (3 drachms), spirit of salt (25 grains). Leave to cool in French white wine for four days. Take 4 ounces twice a day.
152. Recipe: Root of bitter dock (2 ounces), greater celandine and common smilax (1 ounce each), leaves of hart's tongue (2 minims), broom flowers (1 minim); cook in 2 pounds of ferruginous water, reduce by half and filter.
153. Recipe: Peruvian bark (1 ounce), root of black hellebore and white turmeric (1 ounce each), ivory powder, crabs eye, coralroot, absinthe salt (1 drachm each), and absinthe preserve (in sufficient quantity). Mix and make an electuary for doses of 4 scruples to be taken with a pound of the prescribed decoction twice a day.
154. Recipe: Mercury (half an ounce), crabs eyes, coral root (1 ounce each), root of pyrethrum, nitrous salt (1 ounce each), clove, mace (1 ounce each). Mix into a powder for doses of 2 scruples with a decoction of rustyback in ferruginous water.
155. Recipe: shells (3 ounces), crabs eyes, hematite (half an ounce each), martial crocus [a red powder obtained by the calcination of iron], ox-eye daisy (1 ounce each), Armenian bole [a red clay, usually from Armenia, used against diarrhoea], diaphoretic antimony (1 ounce each). Mix with a sufficient quantity of broom flower preserve and make an electuary. Take a drachm of it twice a day.
156. "Testaceous powders" and "*Ostracodermata*" are remedies containing crushed shells.
157. Recipe: Root of angelica (1 ounce), leaves of rue and laurel (half a minim each), flowers of chamomile (2 minim). Cook in a sufficient quantity of spring

- water to obtain 8 ounces of residue. Add half an ounce of antimonial wine, gem salt (2 drachms), troches of Alhandal (half a drachm). Mix and make an enema.
158. Recipe: myrrh electuary, yellow amber (8 grains each), castoreum [the oily secretions of the glands of castors] (6 grains), volatile ammoniac salt (4 grains), mace oil (2 grains), turpentine oil (half a drachm) Laudanum of London (1 grain). Mix into a bole and give with 4 ounces of the following decoction. Repeat every four hours.
 159. Recipe: flowers of mullein, of chamomile, and of hypericum (half a minim each), berries of juniper and laurel (2 drachms each), fennel seeds and aniseeds (1 drachm each), water from the fountain, Malmsey wine (12 ounces each). Cook and make de decoction as a vehicle for the prescribed bole.
 160. *Post longam alvi constipationem*: after long periods of constipation.
 161. Shave the head and apply Vigo's plaster [named after Giovanni de Vigo, a sixteenth-century Italian physician] with mercury and bishop's wort. Apply a sufficient quantity to cover the whole head, except the face. After that, give the following enema.
 162. Recipe: Rectified linseed oil (10 ounces). Troche Alhandal (1 drachm), gem salt (2 scruples)/ Mix and make an enema and give to the one who vomits with an ounce of antimonial wine after vomiting.
 163. Recipe: Cubeb pepper (1 scruple), castoreum (10 grains), volatile salt of amber (5 grains), paralytic balsam [also known as Paralytic balsam of Mynsicht, a mixture of essential oils, plants, turpentine and amber], sufficient quantity for a bole.
 164. Recipe: Shavings of sassafras, wild thyme, marjoram and bishop's wort (half a minim of each), flowers of rosemary and lavender (2 fistfuls). Cook in a sufficient quantity of ordinary water, and at 4 ounces of residue add half an ounce of melampodium tincture, spirit of vitriol [sulphuric acid] (5 drops), syrup of stœchas [lavender syrup] (half an ounce). Mix and make a julep to serve as a vehicle for the prescribed bole. Repeat every four hours.
 165. The "fits of the Mother" were uterine spasms associated with hysteria, the "falling-sickness" was another name for epilepsy, and the "evil tongue" was the name given to lingual dyskinesia, or involuntary movements of the tongue.
 166. Recipe: Peruvian bark (1 scruple), powder of secundines [of human placenta] (10 grains), castoreum (6 grains), crocus (4 grains) Jupiter's salt [tin salt] (5 grains). Mix with a sufficient quantity of absinthe preserve and make a bole.
 167. *In regione umbilici*: around the navel. The resin of *Galbanum* (a herbaceous plant) was one of the ingredients of the *diascordum* and the *theriaca*. *Caracanna* is a gum taken from a tree growing in Columbia also known as "the tree of madness". The *Tacamahaca* is a variety of balsam poplar native of North America; its resin was used for its medicinal properties.
 168. An "alexipharmic" is an antidote.
 169. Mandeville wrote the first version of his treatise a few years after the Rose case and after decades of controversy about the respective roles of the physician and of the apothecary. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, an

- apothecary named William Rose was fined for the illegal practice of medicine, but the judgement was reversed following the appeal of the *Society of Apothecaries* to the House of Lords (March 1704). From then on, the apothecaries were allowed to give medical advice. A few years earlier, among other pamphlets on the same subject, a short play by Thomas Brown already ridiculed the exaggerated ambitions of the apothecaries: *Physick lies a-Bleeding, or the Apothecary Turn'd Doctor; a comedy acted every day in most apothecaries shops in London, and more especially to be seen by those who are willing to be cheated, the first of April, each year. Absolutely necessary for all persons that are sick or may be sick* (London, E. Whitlock, 1697). For further readings: R. Jones, "Apothecaries, Physicians, Surgeons," *British Journal of General Practice*, 56 (524), March 2006, pp. 232–233; G. Clark, *History of the Royal College of Physicians*, 4 vols. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1966), vol. 2, pp. 476–480; Roy Porter and Dorothy Porter, "The rise of the English drug industry: the role of Thomas Corbyn," *Medical History*, 33 (1989), pp. 277–295; Mary Lindemann, *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010); for a comprehensive and substantiated analysis of the Rose case, see Harold J. Cook, "The Rose Case Reconsidered: Physicians, Apothecaries, and the Law in Augustan England", *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 45, issue 4 (Oct. 1990), pp. 527–555.
170. *Lucatellus balsam* was an oil prescribed for contusions, burns, ulcers, wounds or kidney-stones.
 171. The University of Altdorf, outside Nurnberg, was founded in 1578. It closed in 1809.
 172. (1711) "the sneaking Mediocrity of the other."
 173. George Bate, *Pharmacopœa Bateana* (London, Samuel Smith, 1688).
 174. The Italian physician Girolamo Frascatoro (1478–1533) invented a preparation against syphilis. He was also the first to describe the composition of *diascordium*, an electuary containing dried *scordium* leaves. Nicholas Culpeper wrote on *diascordium*: "It is a well composed electuary, a something appropriate to the nature of women, for it provokes the terms, hastens their labor, helps their usual sickness at the time of their lying-in, I know nothing better." Nicholas Culpeper, *Pharmacopœia Londinensis, or the London Dispensatorie* (London, Peter Cole, 1653).
 175. See Robert Pitt, *The Craft and Frauds of Physick Expos'd. The Very Low Prices of the Best Medicines Discover'd. The Costly Preparations now in Greatest Esteem, condemn'd. And the Too Frequent use of Physick Prov'd Destructive to Health. With Instructions to Prevent Being Cheated and Destroy'd by the Prevailing Practice* (London, Tim Childe, 1702).
 176. The ancient *Petaurum* was a basic seesaw.
 177. On the subject of the physical exercises prescribed to hysterical women and their relation to the erotisation of hysteria, see Sylvie Kleiman-Lafon, "Healing Hysterical Bodies. Women and Physical Exercise in the Seventeenth and

- Eighteenth Centuries” in Daniel O’Quinn and Alexis Tadié, *At Play. The Cultures of Sport in the Long Eighteenth-Century* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2017), pp. 296–314.
178. See Francis Fuller, *Medicina Gymnastica, or a Treatise concerning the power of exercise, with respect to the animal æconomy and the great necessity of it in the cure of several distempers* (London, Robert Knaplock, 1705).
 179. Sydenham recommended horse riding in the treatment of all sorts of ailments, but more particularly in cases of consumption. He thus wrote to his friend John Locke: “If you would but ride on horseback from Paris to Calais and from Dover to London, upon that and drawing in this air your symptoms will vanish.” Locke, MS. 1228, ff. 106–122; quoted by Ken Dewhurst, “Thomas Sydenham (1624–1689), Reformer of Clinical Medicine,” *Medical History*, April 6, 1962, (2), pp. 101–118. Sydenham repeatedly mentions horse-back riding (or riding in a coach) in his works; see for example, *The Whole Works... of Dr. Thomas Sydenham*, third ed. (London, Wellington, 1701), pp. 326–327 (to cure epidemic diseases and more particularly consumption); p. 145 (to cure bilious cholics); p. 363; pp. 374–379 (to cure the stone and the gout).
 180. See Hieronymus Mercurialis, *Artis gymnasticæ* (Venice, 1569).
 181. See Suetonius, *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, Book IV, 3 “Life of Caligula”: “His legs were too slender for the rest of his figure, but he gradually brought them to proper proportions by constant horseback riding after meals.” Trans. J. C. Rolfe (Harvard, Loeb Classical Library, 1913–1914) p. 409.
 182. See Plato, *Phædrus*: “For my part, I do so long to hear his speech, that if you walk all the way to Megara, and when you have reached the wall come back, as Herodicus recommends, without going in, I will keep you company.” *The Dialogues of Plato*, trans. Benjamin Jowett, 5 vols. (London, Oxford UP, 1892) vol. 1, p. 432.
 183. Mandeville found this anecdote in Daniel Le Clerc’s *Histoire de la médecine* (1696) translated into English three years later: *The History of Physick, or, an account of the rise and progress of the art, and the several discoveries therein from age to age... made English by Dr. Drake, and Dr. Baden* (London, D. Brown, 1699). Le Clerc devotes a chapter to Herodicus of Selymbria (Part I, Book II, chap. 9, pp. 139–145) and reports that Hippocrates: “who had been his Disciple, does not give him an advantageous character upon this account, where he says that *Herodicus* kill’d several that were ill of Fevers, with too much walking, and wrestling, and fomentations; nothing being so prejudicial to persons in such cases, as hunger, wrestling, running, rubbing, &c.” (pp. 141–142) In Plato’s *Republic* (Book III) Socrates describes Herodicus’ rigorous lifestyle: “But Herodicus, being a trainer, and himself of a sickly constitution, by a combination of training and doctoring found out a way of torturing first and chiefly himself, and secondly the rest of the world. —How was that? he said. —By the invention of lingering death; for he had a mortal disease which he perpetually tended, and as recovery was out of the question, he passed his entire life as a valetudinarian; he could do nothing but attend upon himself, and he was in constant torment whenever he departed in anything from his

- usual regimen, and so dying hard, by the help of science he struggled on to old age." *The Dialogues of Plato*, trans. Benjamin Jowett, 5 vols. (London, Oxford UP, 1892) vol. 3, p. 406.
184. Misomedon is here wittingly reversing the meaning of Plato's comparison between a cook and a physician in a discussion on rhetoric as flattery: "Thus cookery assumes the form of medicine, and pretends to know what foods are best for the body; so that if a cook and a doctor had to contend before boys, or before men as foolish as boys, as to which of the two, the doctor or the cook, understands the question of sound and noxious foods, the doctor would starve to death. Flattery, however, is what I call it, and I say that this sort of thing is a disgrace, Polus—for here I address you—because it aims at the pleasant and ignores the best; and I say it is not an art, but a habitude, since it has no account to give of the real nature of the things it applies, and so cannot tell the cause of any of them. I refuse to give the name of art to anything that is irrational: if you dispute my views, I am ready to give my reasons. However, as I put it, cookery is flattery disguised as medicine." Plato, *Gorgias*, trans. W. R. M. Lamb (Loeb Classical Library, Harvard, 1925) 464e–465b, p. 319. The cook is a quack and not a proper physician. He relies on ornaments of speech to convince his gullible customers/patients, and only sells them what they relish and not what they need. But Misomedon is right, since Philopirio also relies on words to guide his patients towards recovery. On rhetoric in the *Treatise* see: Sylvie Kleiman-Lafon, "Ancient medicine, modern quackery: Bernard Mandeville and the rhetoric of healing" in Paddy Bullard and Alexis Tadié (ed.) *Ancients and Moderns in early modern Europe: comparative perspective* (Oxford, Oxford University Studies in the Enlightenment, 2016).
 185. On the austere Dutch diet praised by Mandeville, see Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches* (New York, A. A. Knopf, 1987), chap. 3 "Feasting, Fasting, and Timely atonement".
 186. *Cæteris paribus* : all other things being equal.
 187. See Baglivi, *The Practice of Physick* (1704) Book I, chap. 5, II, "The False Idols of Physicians, or the Prejudice of false Opinions." Baglivi takes up Francis Bacon's definition of the "idol" (see *New Organon*, aphorisms 39 to 68) as a defect in perception and analysis that may be an obstacle to both judgement and knowledge. For Baglivi, these idols are among the notorious enemies of medical progress: "As I take it, the chief Impediments that have slacken'd the Diligence of Physicians in making Observations, and by consequence have retarded the progress of the Practice itself, are these. The false Idols of Physicians, or the prepossession of false Opinions. A false kind of Analogies or faulty Similitudes. The preposterous reading of Books, and the fatal Itch of making Systems: And the Intermitting of the Aphoristical Way of Treating Diseases." (*Practice*, p. 15). For Baglivi, some physicians have a tendency to prescribe some medicines in particular because they are unreasonably convinced of their curative power.
 188. Johann Schöder, *Pharmacopeia medico-chymica* (Lugduni, Rigaud frat., 1649). In England it was reproduced with Michael Ettmüller's commentaries

in Michael Ettmüller, *Opera Omnia* (London, Samuel Smith, 1688). “Bezoar” was a clump of matter usually found in the stomach of some animals (especially goats), much like pearls in oysters. It looked like smooth pebbles and was thought to counter the effects of poison. These stones were highly sought after, up to the point that false, man-made bezoar stones were also sold throughout Europe.

189. This digression on bezoar echoes a medical controversy on the efficiency and natural origin of that stone. Bezoar was exposed as a doubtful fabrication by Philibert Guybert, a French physician, in « Les Tromperies du Bezoar découvertes » (*Les œuvres charitables de Philibert Guybert*, Paris, Jean Host, 1629) and later by Robert Pitt (*The Craft and Fraud of Physic expos'd*, 1703), but the controversy culminated in 1715 when Frederick Slare (1648–1727) published his *Experiments and Observations upon oriental and other Bezoar Stones, which Prove them to be of no Use in Physick* (London, Tim Goodwin, 1715). His comments on bezoar had been criticised by Dr. Cook, of Bristol, to whom Slare had sent the manuscript prior to its publication (see Cook’s letter dated January 5, 1714 reproduced in John Catterwood, *A New Method of curing the Apoplexy. With an appendix, containing some observations upon the Use and Abuse of Physick* (London, Samuel Baker, n.d.), p. 75), and the publication of his book was quickly followed by another pamphlet on bezoar and those who recommended it as well as other equally inefficient medicines: [Walter Lynn], *A Nice Cut for the Demolisher: or Dr. Slare’s Experiments and Observations Upon the Bezoar, &c. Rip’d up. Being a Vindication of Dr. Radcliffe and Dr. M—d [Mead] From the charge of having made an Exorbitant Gain and Use of Gascoin Powder* (London, J. Morphew, 1715).
190. “Powder of Post”: quack medicine.
191. This is rather loosely quoted from Baglivi; his exact words are thus: “One that is naturally Timorous and Melancholick, or Possess’d, as the saying is, of a frigid and humid Temperament, do’s by the natural Habit of his Mind to avoid Spirituous Volatile Med’cines, or such as operate with a forcible Motion; and attempts to cure all Diseases by such Remedies as are Moistening, Refrigerating, apt to pacifie the Humours, and, in a word, that are less Active. On the other hand, a Physician of a hot bilious, fierce or impatient Temperament, neglects the gentler and cooling Med’cines, and insists upon Volatile Spirituous Remedies, Aromatick Alkali’s, Iron, Fire, Vesicatories, violent Purgatives, and such things as operate with the greatest force and activity.” Baglivi, *Practice*, pp. 16–17.
192. *Pulvis e chelis* was another name for Gascoyne powder, made of crab shells; *acqua lactis* was the Latin word for whey; *cerasorum* was a preparation involving cherries (a decoction).
193. “Tent”: a wine from the Spanish region of Alicante.
194. Daniel Le Clerc, *History of Medicine*, Part I, Book III, chap. 13, p. 273.
195. *Nostrum*: a quack medicine, a medicine made and sold by the person who advertises it.
196. *Catholicon*: a universal remedy, a panacea.

197. The word “halophantæ” (those who cheat on salt), was coined by Plautus as a synonym for sycophant (who cheated on figs).
198. This passage replaces a different one, which was as follows in the 1711 edition:

“*Misom.* Why then, since you know (as I have heard you say) Apothecaries that keep good Medicines, will you administer them your self?
Phil. To get by them as they would; What warrantable motive can I have to give the profit of my Inheritance, as well as Study, and Observation to others, that perhaps would never thank me for it?
Misom. But have you really no other reason?
Phil. I thought this was a very good one, for a Man that is chiefly consulted in Chronick Diseases, where the first Prescription may Cure, and if it be followed a Month or two, the Physician that gives nothing but his Advice, shears the Hogs, and the Apothecary the Sheep. I could give more plausible reasons; but chuse to mention that first, which tho’ I never named it, would be suspected most.”
199. This book, reviewed as an anonymous publication in the *Philosophical Transactions* (1668, n° 41, p. 835), has been repeatedly attributed to Jonathan Goddard by various sources, although there is no material element to confirm it. See Leonard M. Payne, “Jonathan Goddard – Discourse concerning Physick and the many abuses thereof by Apothecaries, 1668: a lost work or a ghost?” *Medical History*, vol. 7 (2), April 1963, pp. 188–190.
200. See Iohannes Baptista Sylvaticus, *Institutio medica de iis qui morbum simulant deprehendi* (Milan, 1595). The Italian physician mentioned by Misomedon could be a Roman physician named Paolo Zacchias, who devoted a long chapter of his *Questiones Medico-Legales* (1621–1651) to feigned diseases. See volume I, book 3, chapter 2 “*De Morbum Simulatione*”.
201. Arnaud de Pontac (1599–1681) was president of the Parliament of Bordeaux as well as one of the largest landowners and wine producers of the region. In the 1660s he launched a new type of claret in London, the Haut-Brion. After the Great Fire, his son opened a tavern in London (Pontack’s Head) where the Pontacs sold their wine directly. It soon became a meeting place for the aristocracy and the intellectual elite, and the regular dining place of the fellows of the Royal Society, while Pontac and Haut-Brion became synonymous with luxury French claret. For further reading on Pontac see Charles Lundington, *The Politics of Wine in Britain: A New Cultural History* (London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013). It also appears in *The Fable of the Bees* (Remark L.): “Those who cannot purchase true *Hermitage* or *Pontack* will be glad of more ordinary *French Claret*.” (Kaye (ed.), vol. 1, p. 118) and in *Wishes to a Godson* (London, J. Baker, 1712) p. 27.
202. See Adrianus Turnebus (Adrien Turnèbe), *Libelli de Vino* (Paris, Morel, 1600).
203. Mandeville had most probably read about this book on Rhenian wines in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society (1673, n°93, pp. 6019–6020): *Vini Rhenani in Specie Bacharensis Anatomica Chymica* (Heidelberg, 1672). For Meibomius, see *De Cervisiis Potibusque et Ebriaminibus extra Vinum aliis Commentarius* (Helmstedt, Johann Heitmüller, 1668). This edition also contains Turnèbe’s *Libelli di Vino*. The reference for Grazius is *Corona*

Florida medicinae (Venice, Forlivio, 1491). For Gratorolus, see *De Vini Natura* (Argentorati [Strasburg], 1565). For Haggcius' book on beer, see *De Cerevisia ajusque conficiendi ratione* (Frankfurt, 1585), and finally, Martin Schookius, *Liber de Cervisia* (Groningen, F. Bronchorst, 1661).

For further reading on the medical use of wine and beer, see Louise Hill Curth and Tanya Cassidy, "Health, Strength and Happiness. Medical Constructions of Wine and Beer in Early Modern England" in Adam Smyth (ed.), *A Pleasing Sinne. Drink and Conviviality in 17th-Century England* (Cambridge, D.S. Brewer, 2004), pp. 143–159; Louise Hill Curth, "The Medicinal value of Wine in Early Modern England." *Social History of Alcohol and Drugs*, vol. 18 (2003) pp. 35–50.

204. In Galenic or Hippocratic practice, knowing the details of the patient's life or his constitutional *idiosyncrasies* was considered of paramount importance, because some individuals were thought to be prone to certain diseases or to respond better to specific remedies. Cures had to be tailor-made to be effective.
205. This passage is from Francis Fuller, *Medicina Gymnastica*, p. 140.

Short Biographies of Authors or Scientists Cited in the Treatise

- AGRICOLA, Johan-Ammonius (1496–1570). He was a German professor of medicine and Greek at the University of Ingolstadt. He was a fervent promoter of Galen and published a voluminous collection of commentaries on his work. He also edited Hippocrates' aphorisms. *Scholia coiosa in therapeuticam methodum* (Ingolstadt, Weissenborn, 1542); *Commentarii novi in Claudii Galeni* (1537).
- BACHUONE (Villanovanus) Arnolfo (1235–1312). He was a Catalan alchemist, and took the name of his hometown of Villanova, in Aragon. He was temporarily banished from Spain and France for his activities and died in a shipwreck on his way to Avignon, where he was sent by Frederick II of Aragon to cure Pope Clement V. He was convinced of the curative virtues of liquid gold.
- BAGLIVI, Giorgio (1668–1707). Born in Ragusa to Armenian parents, he was later adopted with his brother by a prominent physician in Lecce. He studied in Salerno, Padua and Bologna. A student of Valvasa and Malpighi, he worked in hospitals across Europe (including in the Dutch Republic and in England between 1688 and 1692) before being appointed Professor of medicine at the college of La Sapienza in Rome by Pope Clement XI. He rejected the humoral system and suggested that diseases were caused by an alteration of the solid parts of the organs. He particularly insisted on the importance of clinical observations over theory, and detailed his conception of the practice of medicine in his *De Praxi Medica* (1696). A complete edition of his works was published posthumously in Venice in 1752, and was translated into French and English. He was elected a fellow of the Royal Society in July 1698.
- BORELLI (Borellus), Giovanni Alfonso (1608–1679). Neapolitan physicist and physiologist, he insisted that theory be tried by experience. He tried to apply the principles of mathematics and mechanics to animal functions.

- BOYLE, Robert (1627–1691). Irish physician and chemist. He is considered as one of the fathers of the theory of atoms. See *The Sceptical Chymist* (London, J. Crooke, 1661). He was a friend of John Locke and of Thomas Sydenham.
- BROWNE, Thomas (1605–1682). English physician and essayist. He studied at Oxford, Montpellier and Leiden and later practised in Halifax and Norwich.
- CARDANO (Cardanus), Girolamo (1501–1576). He studied at Pavia and Padua and became a noted physician, astrologer, philosopher and notorious gambler. He was the first to describe typhoid fever.
- CLAUDINI (Claudinus), Julio Cesare (1550–1618). He was professor of logic, philosophy and practical medicine at the University of Bologna. He published *Responsionum et consultationum medicinalium tomus unicus* (Venezia, 1606), which was reprinted several times across Europe.
- CRAANEN, Theodor (1621–1689). Dutch physician and professor of medicine, first at Nijmegen, then at Leiden. He lost both his chairs for being a fervent admirer of Descartes. He left Leiden for Berlin, where he also became physician to the elector of Brandenburg. See *Tractatus physico-medicus de homine* (Leiden, Petrum van der Aa, 1689).
- DE BAILLOU (Ballonius), Guillaume (1538–1616). A French physician, he insisted upon the importance of case studies. He was the first author to use the word « rheumatism » in its modern meaning. He also wrote a treatise on diseases affecting women: *De Virginium et mulierum morbis* (Paris, Quesnel, 1643). See also *Opera medica omnia* (Paris, 1635).
- De LE BOË, Franz (1614–1672). Also known as Sylvius De le Boë, he was a Dutch physician and anatomist. A Pioneer in modern chemistry, he founded the first European chemistry laboratory at the university of Leiden. He wrote extensively on digestion and on the role of sensual perception in scientific enquiries. To him, taste and smell were key elements in our understanding of the digestive process. He was particularly interested in the way nutriment was absorbed into the bloodstream. He was also the most energetic proponent of bedside teaching at Leiden, where he applied ideas developed by his former professor Otto Heurnius on the importance of the dialogue between patients and practitioners in the elaboration of a diagnosis.
- DE MERCADO (Mercatus), Luis (1525–1611). He was a physician to Philippe II and Philippe III of Spain. Among numerous other works, he was the author of a book on fever, *De Febre maligna* (Patavii, Paulum Meietum, 1595) and of another on the diseases of women: *De Morbis mulierum*, 4 vols. (Venice, 1587–1602).
- DEKKER (Bontekoe), Cornelius Dekker aka. Cornelius Bontekoe (1647–1685). He was a Dutch physician and essayist. He studied medicine at Leiden, where he was De le Boë's student, and became physician to Frederick William I. He advertised the medical benefits of chocolate and was also much in favour of tea (recommending more than fifty cups a day). He belonged to a small circle of Cartesian physicians and as such, he strongly criticised his own university for being too much indebted to the ancients but also too easily convinced by modern theoreti-

- cians such as Van helmont. See *Fundamenta medica* (Amsterdam, Blancard, 1688).
- DIOCLES OF CARYSTUS (IVth century BC). He is the most important of Hippocrates' immediate successors. He practised in Athens around 350 BC, and specialised in anatomy and dietetics. He was the author of numerous medical treatises that only subsist as fragments taken up by Galen or Cælius Aurelianus. See Fraenkel (ed.) *Dioclis Carystii fragmenta quæ supersunt* (Berlin, 1840).
- DIOSCORIDES, Penanius (40–90). Roman physician, botanist and pharmacologist of Greek origin, born in Cilicia (Turkey). His *Materia medica* was widely read in Europe over the centuries.
- DIRX (Tulpius), Nicolaus (1593–1674). Dutch surgeon and mayor of Amsterdam. He studied medicine at Leiden and practiced medicine in Amsterdam. He changed his name to Tulp (tulip) and took the flower as his emblem when he began his political career. See *Observationes Medicæ* (Amsterdam, Daniel Elzevier, 1674). He was portrayed by Rembrandt in his famous painting "The Anatomy lesson of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp" (1632).
- DORING (Doringius), Michael (?–1644). German physician from Breslau; he was Sennert's brother-in-law and closest collaborator. He taught at Giessen and was first physician to the Prince of Lichtenstein. He is credited with the first complete description of scarlet fever. He is the author of *De Medicina et medicis adversus iatomaslegas et pseudiatros* (Giessae Hessorum, Hampelius, 1611) in which he criticises Paracelsus. He also wrote against quacks.
- DRAWIZ (Drawisius), Johann (1604–1653). German physician from Magdeburg. He became rector of the university of Leipzig. See *Manipulus positionum medicarum de arthritide* (Leipzig, Lanckisch, 1637).
- DU CHESNE (Quercetanus), Joseph (1544–1609). He was born in Gascony but settled in Germany, where he studied chemistry. In 1573, he received the title of doctor in medicine at the University of Basel. He then settled in Paris, where he became physician to King Henry IV. See *Pharmacopea dogmaticorum restituta* (Paris, Morel, 1607); *Tétrade des plus graves maladies de tout le cerveau* (Paris, Morel, 1625).
- ETTMÜLLER, Michael (1644–1683). He was a German physician who held the chair of botany at the university of Leipzig and also lectured in surgery and anatomy. His son Michael Ernst Etmüller (1673–1732) also became professor at Leipzig and published the work of his father.
- EUGALENUS, Severinus (1535–1599). A Dutch physician who practiced in Emden and Amsterdam. Just like Hartmann, he was convinced that scurvy and the lues were very similar affections. He wrote a treatise on scurvy: *De Morbo scorbuto liber* (Leipzig, Voigt, 1623).
- FERNEL (Fernelius), Jean (1497–1558). He studied medicine at the Collège Sainte-Barbe in Paris and was later appointed physician to the Court and as such gave medical advice to Diane de Poitiers, Henri II and Catherine de Médicis. He was much in favour of the ancient Greek authors and wrote a medical compendium which was reprinted many times: *Universa medicina* (1554).
- FERRIER (Ferrerius), Auger (1513–1588). He was a French physician and astrologer and was Catherine de Medici's ordinary physician. He wrote, among other

titles: *Liber de Somniis* (1549) and *Remèdes préservatifs et curatifs de peste* (Paris, Guillaume Julien, 1562). He is said to have died of an affection of the bowels following a violent quarrel with one of his opponents.

FISCHER (Fischerus) Levin (1611–1656). A physician and an alchemist, he was notably interested in “magic” diseases, that is, diseases that were the result of a curse and among which he enumerates “the abhorrence of bread, and the fear and loathing of medicine that do not cure.” (See César Cantù, *Histoire universelle*, t. XIV. Paris, Firmin Didot, 1855). He wrote a book on Hippocratic aphorisms (*Corpus medicinæ imperiale*) and another on the medicinal use of gold: *De aurea auri tinctura sive veru auri potabilis medicina commentarius* (1630).

FISCHER (Fischerus), Johann Andreas (1667–1729). German physician from Erfurt, where he taught pathology from 1718. He is the author of several books on medical practice: *Consilia medica quæ in usum practicum et forensem* (Frankfurt, 1704); *Responsa practica* (Leipzig, 1719). It is impossible to know which of the two Fischers is cited by Mandeville, as he would have had equally good reasons for citing them both.

FULLER, Francis (1670–1706). Fuller became a hypochondriac following an allegedly violent treatment against the itch. Influenced by his readings of Sydenham, he decided to cure his own disease with a program of physical exercises that included horse riding and chafing, which led him to write his *Medicina Gymnastica* in 1704. The book was a success and was reissued nine times between 1704 and 1777.

GAZIO (Gazius), Antonio (1449–1528). Italian physician born in Cremona. He mainly practiced in Padua. The book cited by Mandeville was his most popular work. It is a guide to a healthy life offering advice on a variety of subjects (sleep, remedies, sexuality, hygiene). An important part of this book is devoted to wine.

GRATOROLUS, Wilhelm (1510–1568). German physician. He studied at Padua and practiced in Basel. In 1561, four years before he wrote his book on wine, he published a popular book of hygienic advice to travellers, which was plagiarised by Mayerne de Turquet.

HAGGECIUS (or Agesius), Thaddeus (dates unknown). He was a friend of Tycho Brahe and physician to the King of Bohemia. He appears in Mandeville’s treatise for his book on beer: *De Cerevisia ajusque conficiendi ratione* (Francfort, 1585).

HARTMANNUS, Johann (1568–1631). He was the first to describe the deleterious effects of mercury in the treatment of the scurvy, whose symptoms were to him very similar to those of the lues. See *Disputationes Chymico-medicæ* (Marburg, P. Egenolphus, 1611).

HARVEY, William (1578–1657). English physician and anatomist, he gave the first complete description of blood circulation.

HARVEY, William (1578–1657). English physician and anatomist. He is credited with the discovery of blood circulation. He exposed its principles for the first time in 1628 in *Exercitatio Anatomica de Motu Cordis et Sanguinis in Animalibus*.

HIGHMORE, Nathaniel, (1613–1685). English surgeon and anatomist. He was convinced that hysteria was caused by the congestion of blood in the heart and

- lungs. He also wrote a treatise on hypochondria: *Exercitationes duae, quarum prior de passione hysterica: altere de affectione hypochondriaca* (Oxford, 1660).
- HORST (Horstius), Johann Daniel (1627–1685). He was the son of German physician Gregor Horst. He was professor of medicine at the University of Marburg and became physician to the landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt. He wrote several reputed treatises: *Pharmacopeia galeno-chemica* (Frankfurt, Schönwetter, 1651); *Epistolarum medicinalium* (Frankfurt, Serlinus, 1656); *Physica Hippocratea* (Frankfurt, Knoch, 1682).
- JACOTIUS, Desiderius (Didier Jacot), was a French Renaissance scholar. A renowned specialist of Cicero, he also studied medicine in Paris, where he was Jacques Houllier's student. He edited Houllier's *De Morborum curatione* (Paris, Macé, 1565) but also a large volume of his commentaries on Hippocrates' "Coan Prognostics". See Andrew Wear, R. K. French and I. M. Lonie (eds.), *The Medical Renaissance of the XVIth century* (Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1985).
- LE CLERC, Daniel (1652–1728). Swiss physician born in Geneva. He studied in Paris and Montpellier before going back to his hometown. In 1696, he published, in French, the first modern history of medicine: *Histoire de la médecine* (Geneva, J. A. Chouët and D. Ritter, 1696), translated into English three years later by Dr. Drake and Dr. Baden: *History of Physick, or, an account of the rise and progress of the art, and the several discoveries therein from age to age* (London, D. Brown, 1699).
- LUDWIG (Ludovicus), Daniel (1625–1680). German physician and apothecary. He criticised the exaggerated quantities of medicines prescribed at the time. Ettmüller commented upon his treatise on the good choice of remedies.
- MARTINI, Matthias (1572–1630). He is the author of at least two books on hypochondriac diseases and their relation to digestion: *De Morbis mesenterii abstrusioribus* (Leipzig, Closemann, 1630) and *Accuratissima morbi hypochondriaci delineato* (Hallis-Saxonum, Oelschlegel, 1643).
- MATTHIOLI (Matthiolus), Pietro Andrea (1501–1577). Italian physician and botanist. He is mainly known for his books on botany and medicinal plants, but he also wrote medical treatises such as: *De Morbi Gallici curandi ratione* (Lyon, S. Gabiano, 1536), on syphilis.
- MAYOW, John (1640–1679). English physician and chemist, he specialised in the study of air and respiration, giving very accurate descriptions of both, a century or so before Lavoisier. See *Tractatus quinque medico-physici* (Oxon., Theatro Sheldoniano, 1674).
- MEIBOM (Meibomius), Heinrich Meibom (1638–1700). German physician and professor at the university of Helmstecht.
- MERCURIALE (Mercurialis) Girolamo (1530–1606). Italian physician. He practiced in Padua, Bologna, and Pisa before being appointed physician to Maximilian II of Austria.

- MÖBIUS, Gottfried (1611–1684). German physician. He is the author of a book which must have caught Mandeville's attention: *Dissertatio medica de affectu hypochondriaco* (Jena, Steinmann, 1640).
- MOREL (Morelus) Pierre (1628–1680). French physician and professor of medicine in Montpellier. He wrote several books, among which: *Methodus Præscribendi formulas remediorum* (Geneva, J. Chouët, 1639). It was translated into English by Nicolas Culpeper: *The Expert Doctor's Dispensatory: the whole art of physick* (London, Brook, 1657).
- MORTON, Richard (1637–1698). English physician who specialised in consumption. He studied at Leiden and after a short career as a clergyman in Holland, came back to England and was awarded the title of doctor from the University of Oxford. His book on tuberculosis, *Phtisiologica*, was published in Latin in 1685, translated into English five years later and reissued after Morton's death in 1720. He also published two treatises on fever: *Pyretologia seu exercitationes de morbis universalis* (1692) and *Pyretologia, pars aletera, sive exercitatio de febris* (1693).
- MUSGRAVE, William (1655–1721). English physician and antiquary. He studied briefly at Leiden, but was mainly educated at Oxford, where he became a fellow. He became an elected member of the Royal Society in 1684, and edited issues 167 to 178 of the *Philosophical Transactions*. He was also a physician and a member of the Royal College of physicians in London. He later moved to Exeter, where he practiced medicine until his death.
- PETRÆUS, Heinrich (1589–1620). German physician who sought to reconcile opposite conceptions of medicine (chemical medicine and Galenic medicine). He taught in Marburg with Hartmann and Nicolaus Braun and introduced contradictory debate in medical teaching. See *Nosologia harmonica dogmatica et hermetica* (Marbourg, P. Egenolphe, 1615–1616).
- PITT, Robert (1653–1712). He studied medicine at the University of Oxford before being appointed professor of anatomy there. He became an elected fellow of the Royal Society in 1682 and later became a member of the College of Physicians.
- PLATTER (Platterus) Felix (1536–1614). Swiss physician, anatomist and botanist from Basel. Between 1602 and 1604, he published the several volumes of his *Praxi Medicæ*, in which diseases were for the first time classified according to their symptoms.
- PORTZIUS, Johann David (dates unknown, active around 1672–1679) Born in Bacharach, in Rhineland, he studied medicine in Padua and Leiden. He is mainly known for his book on Rhenian wine.
- PURCELL, John (1674–1730). His name never appears in Mandeville's work, but his *Treatise on Vapours* is extensively quoted. He studied physics in Montpellier, attending the lectures of Pierre Chirac. To him, the relation between hysteria and the uterus was dubious and he saw the lack of physical activity as a more likely cause. He recommended long walks, good company and a reasonable diet in cases of hysteric fits.
- REUSNER (Reusnerus) Hieronymus. He was born in Löwenberg at the end of the XVIth century and became a physician in Norlingen. He also wrote on scurvy:

Diexodicarum exercitationum liber de scorbuto (Francfort, ex officina Paltheniana, 1600).

- RIVIÈRE (Riverius), Lazare (1589–1655). French physician and professor of medicine at the University of Montpellier, he was also the personal physician of Louis XIII. He wrote numerous books that were used as teaching manuals, such as his *Praxis medica* (Paris, O. de Varennes, 1640). Mandeville is considered as the author of the English translation of François de la Calmette's commentaries on Rivière: *Riverius Reformatus, or the modern Riverius containing the modern practice of physick: set down in a method very near the same with that of Riverius; unto the whole are added, a treatise of venereal diseases, and the secrets of the famous Lazarus Riverius, never published before/translated from the third edition in Latin by a doctor of physick* (London, Wellington, 1706).
- RODE (Rhodius), Johann (1587–1669). He was a Danish physician educated at Marburg and Padua, where he was given the chair of botany and became director of the botanic garden. See *De Acia dissertatio ad Cornelius Celsus* (Patavia, P. Frambotti, 1636).
- RODRIGUES DA VEGA (A Veiga), Tomas (1513–1579). He was a Portuguese physician and the author of a book of commentaries on Galen published in Lyons in 1593: *Opera Omnia in Galeni libros edita, & commentariis in partes novem distinctis* (Lugduni, Petrum Landry, 1593).
- SALIUS, Petrus Diversus. Like Fernel and Jacotius, he was one of most prominent commentators of Hippocrates at the end of the XVIth century. *Commentaria in Hippocratis libros quatuor de morbis luculentissima* (Francfort, Bassaei, 1602).
- SANTORIO (sanctorius), Santorio (1561–1636). He was an Italian physician and physiologist. He is known for his experimental works on the variation of bodily temperature and for prompting research on metabolism.
- SCHOOCK (Schookius), Martin (1614–1669). He was a professor of history and philosophy in Groningen. His taste for erudition prompted him to explore the most unusual subjects: he wrote on the philosophy of Descartes, but also on butter, on echo, and on aversions to certain types of food (eggs, poultry, cheese...). Among these varied treatises, Mandeville selected a voluminous book on beer: *Liber de Cervisia* (Groningen, F. Bronchorst, 1661).
- SCHRÖDER (Schroderus) Johann (1600–1664). German physician and pharmacologist. In 1641, he published the first edition of his *Pharmacopoeia medico-chymica*, influenced by the work of Du Chesne. It was such a success that the book went through more than twenty editions in Latin, German, English and French. He played an important part in the modernisation of pharmaceutical studies in universities across Europe. He appears as "Scroderus" in Sterne's *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy* (volume II, chap. xxviii).
- SELVATICO (Sylvaticus), Giovanni Battista (1550–1621). Italian physician and professor at Pavia and Milan. He wrote a book on fevers and another on practical medicine.
- SENNERT (Sennertius), Daniel (1572–1637). He was a German physician and professor of medicine at the University of Wittenberg.

- SETTALA (Septalius) Lodovico Settala (1552–1633). He was a professor of philosophy and medicine in Milan and Pavia. He caught the plague and apparently survived only to die of fever and of an affection of the stomach. He had written books on the prevention and cure of the plague: *Preservazione della peste* (Milano, Bidelli, 1630) and *Cura locale de tumori pestilentiali* (Milano, Bidelli, 1629).
- SHAW, Peter (1694–1763) He is the author of a book on the therapeutic qualities of wine: *The Juice of the Grape, or Wine Preferable to Water* (London, Lewis, 1724). Just like Mandeville, he was apparently an unlicensed medical practitioner until 1740, when (unlike Mandeville) he was officially licensed by the College of Physicians. Shaw, who later became physician-extraordinary to George II and George III, advocated the use of wine in cases of hypochondriac diseases and “symptoms of Fancy.” He also translated Boerhaave and edited the works of Robert Boyle.
- SYDENHAM, Thomas (1624–1689). English physician dubbed the “English Hippocrates.” He was educated at Oxford and appointed a fellow of All Souls College. He only completed his medical degree thirty years later, in Cambridge, but was granted a license to practice by the Royal College of Physicians in 1663. He insisted on the importance of clinical observation, and published on a wide variety of subjects, from fevers to venereal diseases or the plague. He also published his correspondence on medical subjects. He was a friend of Robert Boyle and of John Locke, who wrote the preface to his *Observationes Medicæ* (1676). On Locke and Sydenham, see G. G. Meynell, “John Locke and the Preface to Thomas Sydenham’s *Observationes Medicæ*” *Medical History*, January 1 2006; 50 (1): 93–110.
- TACHENIUS, Otto (16??–1670). He studied in Prague where he was made a doctor in 1652. He settled in Venice where he made a living by selling “viperine salt” which he presented as a panacea. Criticised for the dubious effects of his remedy, he answered with a treatise on acids and alkalis: *His Hippocrates chymicus Discovering the ancient foundation of the late viperine salt* (Londres, Crouch, 1677).
- THÉVENOT, Jean (1633–1677). French explorer and traveller, he introduced coffee in France and published a travel-narrative in three volumes between 1664 and 1684. The English translation was published only a few years later: *The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot into the Levant: In Three Parts* (London, John Taylor, 1687).
- TILING (Tilingius), Matthias (1634–1674). A German physician and botanist, he is the author of a voluminous treatise on lilies and of several other books on opiates, fevers or the anatomy of the spleen.
- TURNÈBE (Turnebus) Adrien (1512–1565). French classical scholar and poet. His book on wine was printed posthumously, after he died of tuberculosis: *Adriani Trunebus de Vino libellus* (Paris, C. Morel, 1600).
- TURQUET DE MAYERNE, Théodore (1573–1655). Swiss physician and chemist. He studied in Montpellier with Joseph Du Chesne and later became physician to Henri IV. He settled in England where he held the same position for James I,

- Charles I and Charles II. He discovered hydrogen and is the author of several works on the theories of Paracelsus and on the use of chemicals in medical cures.
- VAN DER LINDEN (Lindanus) Jan Antonides (1609–1664). Dutch physician. He practiced in Amsterdam and later became professor of medicine in Leiden. He compiled editions of Celsus and Hippocrates and published several books including: *De scriptis medicis*, (Amsterdam, 1637).
- VAN DIEMERBROECK, Ijsbrand (1609–1674). Dutch physician. He studied in Leiden and in Angers (France). He practised in Nijmegen during the plague epidemic and wrote a treatise on the disease (*De Peste*, 1646). He became professor of medicine and anatomy in Utrecht. See *The Anatomy of Human Bodies*, trans. William Salmon (London, Edward Brewster, 1689).
- VAN FOREEST (Forestus), Pieter (1521–1597). A Dutch physician dubbed the “Dutch Hippocrates.” He studied in Europe, and more particularly at the universities of Bologna and Venice. He was in Leiden the year the university was founded (1575). He is known for his medical observations and his case studies: *Observationum et curationum medicinalium* (Leiden, F. Raphelengium, 1588).
- VAN HELMONT, Jan Baptista (1577–1644). He was a Flemish physician, chemist and alchemist. A proponent of careful observation, he discovered gas (and invented the term) and identified carbon dioxide, to which he gave the name of “gas sylvester.” He was interested in digestion, which was for him the result of a fermentation that could transform food into vital matter in six steps.
- VAN LEEUWENHOECK, Anton (1632–1723). Dutch merchant and self-taught scholar. Working on a way to improve the microscope, he made the first observations of blood cells and sperms.
- VAN VELTHUYSEN, Lambert (1622–1685). Dutch physician and theologian. He wrote a single medical treatise: *Tractatus duo medico-phisici* (Trajecti ad Rhenum, Ackersdijck, 1657).
- VARANDÉE, (Varandæus) Jean (1564–1617). Born and educated in Montpellier, he became dean of this university in 1609. Among other works, he wrote a treatise on diseases affecting women: *De Morbis et affectibus mulierum* (Lyon, 1620).
- WALTHER (Waltherus), Johann Georg Walther (dates unknown). He was professor of medicine at the University of Leipzig. Among other works, he is the author of a treatise on the tightening of the bowels. See *Sylva medica opulentissima* (Bautzen, Arusti, 1679).
- WEDEL (Wedelius), Georg Wolfgang (1645–1721). German physician and professor at the University of Jena, he was influenced by the iatrochemical doctrine of Paracelsus that saw physiological reactions as chemical ones. See *Physiologica medica* (Jena, J. Bielk, 1680).
- WILLIS, Thomas Willis (1621–1675). English physician and anatomist, he was one of the founding members of the Royal Society. He was a specialist of the brain and nerves and was convinced that hypochondria was a nervous disease (see *Affectionum quæ dicuntur histericæ vindicata, contra responsionem epistolarem N. Hi.* (Leiden, 1671) and that it could equally affect men and women.

WYTINCK (Vesalius), Andreas (1514–1564). He was named “Vesalius” after his hometown of Wesel, in Brabant. He was an anatomist and a physician. His treatise, *De Humani Corporis Fabrica*, offered a modern view of anatomy opposed to galenic ideas.

ZECCHI (Zecchius), Giovanni (1533–1601). He became professor of medicine at the University of Bologna, and later moved to Rome to teach at La Sapienza. He was also appointed papal physician in 1583. He published his *Consultationes medicinales* in 1599.

ZWELFER (Zwelferus), Johann (1618–1668). He was an apothecary from his native Palatinate. He later studied medicine in Padua and became a physician in Vienna. See *Animadversiones in pharmacopœiam augustanam et annemantissam* (Vienna, 1652); *Discursus apologeticus adversùs Hippocratem chymicum* (Vienna, 1669).

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